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HILLARY ON WHEELS — p. 24

NATIONAL REVIEW

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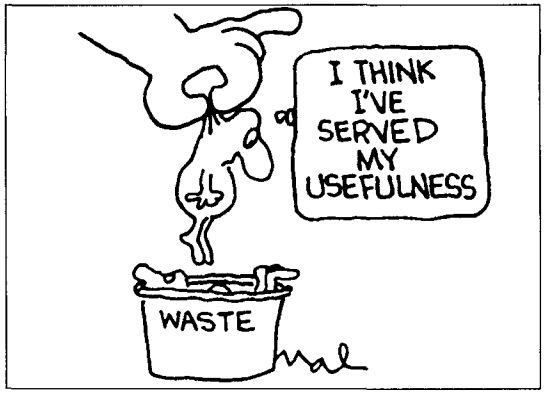
NATIONAL REVIEW

FEBRUARY 12, 1996 VOL. XLVIII, NO. 2



COVER STORY

34 ***The War on Drugs Is Lost***
Wm. F. Buckley Jr., reflecting on his own statement before the New York Bar Association on the War on Drugs, sought reactions from a group of men who had chosen, or been forced in the course of their duties, to reflect on this topic. Joining him in this symposium are drug-policy researcher **Ethan A. Nadelmann**, Baltimore Mayor **Kurt Schmoke**, former police chief **Joseph D. McNamara**, Judge **Robert W. Sweet**, psychiatrist **Thomas Szasz**, and Professor **Steven B. Duke**. They differ among themselves (as do *NR*'s editors) as to which aspects of the War on Drugs they find most disquieting, and how far they would go toward legalization. But they all agree: the War on Drugs has failed.

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50 **David Gelernter** sends Norman Mailer and his *Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man* back to the old easel. . . . **Peter Brimelow** tastes Sanford Ungar's *Fresh Blood: The New American Immigrants* and pronounces it decidedly stale. . . . In *Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea*, Irving Kristol recalls the idea he helped invent, when it was still neo. **Harvey Mansfield** offers a Kristolization. . . . Tom Shachtman's *The Inarticulate Society* pronounces a eulogy for articulate speech and writing in English. **Tracy Lee Simmons** mourns. . . . A film about Albania? No, don't stop reading! **John Simon** visits Gianni Amelio's *Lamerica* with pleasure. Also, for all its resemblance to the real thing, Oliver Stone's *Nixon* should have been called Oliver Stone's *Anthony Hopkins*.

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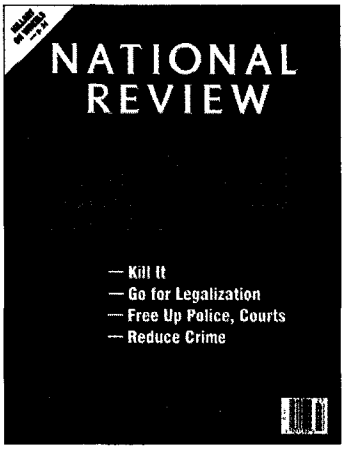

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FROM THE EDITOR

Next Question?

■ My appearance on this occasion is a case of squatter's rights. Bill Buckley, the *parent terrible* of this magazine, is called in to edit an occasional issue to keep his hand in. And this is the issue.

Shortly after writing these words, I shall be off to that white, sandy beach I dreamt about in the snows of our last issue. But I know enough of Bill's plans—in particular, the explosion he reasonably anticipates on an issue which has received too little debate—that I am enabled to advise you: "Fasten your seatbelts; we're in for a bumpy ride."

■ After an *NR* dinner discussion in Washington, David Broder pointed out in his column that most of the major debates in U.S. politics—abortion, immigration, race and gender quotas, drug legalization—now take place *within* the Republican Party rather than between the GOP and the Democrats.

The budget dispute may seem to belie this, but, as an item in "The Week" argues, it is really being conducted on entirely conservative territory: a balanced budget and a long-term reduction in federal spending's share of the gross domestic product.

That being so, conservatives must get used to arguing with each other in civil and friendly ways. At present, the conservative establishment's first line of defense on many of these questions is to shout "racist" or "nativist."

I sympathize. Conservative leaders have very few opportunities to enjoy the pleasures of moral superiority. They must envy the average liberal who, three or four times a day, is able to raise his eyes to heaven and cry: "Lord, Lord, I thank Thee that I am not a sinner like that publican over there." But they should resist the temptation to rebuke other conservatives for lacking their large-minded inclusiveness. It disturbs people trying to think.

■ In this issue, David Frum reports from Ontario on the political success of the provincial Conservative government there. Let me reduce his subtle argument to cartoon terms:

a) The national Conservative government in Canada moved to the center-left and was destroyed in the last elections.

b) The provincial Ontario Tories moved right and were denounced as "extreme," "out of the mainstream," etc.

c) They were elected in a landslide and, having implemented their promises of cutting spending and eliminating quotas, they have increased their popularity and shifted the entire political spectrum rightward.

By my count, this is the third experiment in a major English-speaking country in which the electoral appeal of principled conservatism has been tested against that of moderate, liberal, centrist, or simply timid conservatism. (The other cases: Ronald Reagan *v.* George Bush, and Margaret Thatcher *v.* John Major.) The results are now in. Principled conservatism wins electoral landslides; liberal centrism loses elections. Can we now move on?

■ A footnote is in order to O'Sullivan's second law: "Never order decaffeinated espresso in a multicultural society."

Dining with a fellow researcher recently, I ordered decaffeinated espresso. When the waiter returned, I sought confirmation: "It *is* decaffeinated, isn't it?" The waiter nodded, but my beautiful companion raised her eyebrows and smiled thinly.

"Wrong question," she said when he had gone. "Experiments have shown that it elicits a high proportion of false positives. The correct formulation is, 'It *is* caffeinated, isn't it?' If he says no, then keep the coffee; if yes, point out that you ordered decaffeinated."

"Suppose," I objected, "that the waiter simply pauses in the kitchen and returns with the same cup?"

"Ah, yes," she responded. "Heisenberg wrestled with this problem, to which he could find no answer. He wondered if it might not have a wider application."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

NATIONAL REVIEW

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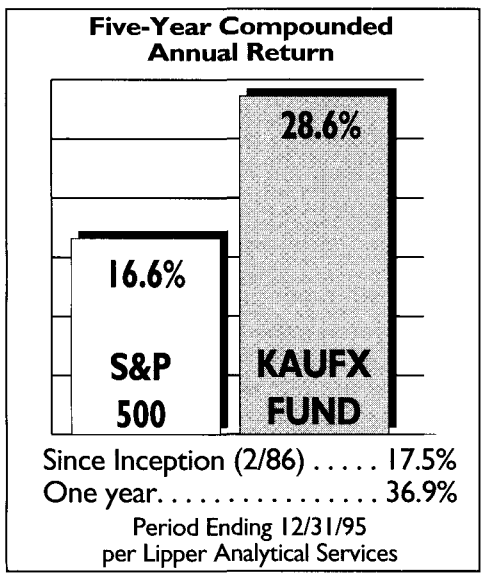

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FOR THE RECORD

■ With his rapid rise in the polls, **Steve Forbes** has picked up first major endorsers, former Sens. **Malcolm Wallop** (R., Wyo.) and **Gordon Humphrey** (R., N.H.), both conservatives. Supply-side guru **Jude Wanniski** says, "All of the other candidates are budget balancers; Steve is not." But after taking a pounding from **Bob Dole** and **Phil Gramm** for opposing the Balanced Budget Amendment, Forbes says he would support one with a supermajority requirement to raise taxes. Forbes moves toward pro-lifers; campaign manager **Bill Dal Col** says his position on abortion is "aligned with the Christian Coalition." . . . In survey by **Elaine Donnelly**'s Center for Military Readiness, candidates **Lamar Alexander**, **Pat Buchanan**, Dole, **Robert Dornan**, Gramm, and **Alan Keyes** express opposition to Clinton Administration policies on women in combat, gender-norming, military affirmative action, missile defense, gays in uniform. . . . Pat Buchanan pledges to require voter approval for major Supreme Court decisions. . . . Meanwhile, liberal Americans for Democratic Action endorses Bill Clinton. Board member Rep. **Barney Frank** (D., Mass.) says that "people on the liberal side are going to mobilize in ways they haven't probably since **Barry Goldwater**." **Al Gore** warns that "right-wing fringe" could take over the White House: "We simply cannot afford to take anything for granted, not now, and not for the rest of the year." . . . Republican pollster **Frank Luntz** predicts a Democratic victory: "It angers me to say this, but Bill Clinton has to be given the edge. The [campaign] team is incredible, and I'm afraid that we won't put our A-team out there against them." . . . Not helping Administration's cause: confidential audit report obtained by *Los Angeles Times* saying that Commerce Sec. **Ron Brown**, outstripping even Transportation Sec. **Hazel O'Leary**, has exceeded travel budget by 55 per cent; total Dept. travel bill for 1994: $68 million.

■ With retirement announcement of Sen. **Bill Cohen** (R., Me.), number of voluntarily departing senators (13) breaks previous record of 12 in 1896. U.S. Term Limits estimates that their taxpayer-funded pensions will total $27 million—plus $2.9 million for **Bob Packwood**. . . . In Oregon's mail-in race to replace Packwood, Republican **Gordon Smith** and Democrat **Ron Wyden** are running neck and neck. Also in Oregon, conservative **Bill Witt** runs for Senate seat of departing **Mark Hatfield** (R.). . . . In Massachusetts, Gov. **William Weld** (R.), positioning himself for challenge to Sen. **John Kerry** (D.), used his State of the State address to discuss the victims of corporate downsizing—to the applause of liberal *Boston Globe*. . . . Reversing earlier decision, House Agriculture Committee chairman **Pat Roberts** will run to replace retiring Kansas Sen. **Nancy Landon Kassebaum**. . . . Iowa's Sen. **Charles Grassley** and Gov. **Terry Branstad**, both Republicans, are thinking about running for each other's jobs. Branstad, courting social conservatives, calls for tougher divorce laws in his State of the State address. . . . Damage control: Senate Democratic leader **Tom Daschle** (S.D.) threatens to defund Senate Whitewater inquiry as waste of money. DNC chairman Sen. **Chris Dodd** (Conn.) charges investigators "are fully engaged in the presidential election battle." . . . **Newt Gingrich** cancels fund-raising appearances with conservatives who voted against his proposal to re-open the government, prompting Sen. **Larry Craig** (Idaho) to call on him to apologize to Rep. **Helen Chenoweth** (Idaho) for doing "a tacky thing." Dissenting Reps. Chenoweth, **Peter Hoekstra** (Mich.), **John Hostettler** (Ind.), and **Mark Souder** (Ind.) remain unrepentant. . . . Another perspective on the budget: Media Research Center calls attention to CBS reporter **Scott Pelley** beginning a Jan. 2 CBS Evening News story from the Oklahoma City Social Security office: "In April, terrorists tried to kill them. Today politicians stopped their paychecks." . . . Overlooked in budget battles: back in November, five major Republican pollsters wrote a joint letter explaining that "there is simply no way to overstate the importance of the middle-class tax cut . . . to our credibility as a political party."

Matt—Rothco

"Statues of Lenin—buy, buy, buy!"

■ After what was described as a successful visit to Peking, British Foreign Sec. **Malcolm Rifkind** told newsmen that "it is no use suggesting to you or to the people of Hong Kong that the United Kingdom can suddenly produce some formula which will deal with the determined Chinese desire to dismantle [democratic] institutions." . . . Leaks from purported KGB files to the effect that former Polish prime minister **Jozef Olesky** was a Russian spy and that Pres. **Alexander Kwasniewski**'s refurbished Communist Party took Moscow money have produced a government crisis in Warsaw. . . . Rep. **Floyd Spence** (R., S.C.) wants Defense Sec. **William Perry** to explain why Commerce Dept. is okaying export of advanced telecommunications equipment to Hua Mei, a Peking military company. . . . **Raymond Flynn**, U.S. ambassador to the Vatican and former Boston mayor, sent a letter to American Church leaders contrasting Republican attitudes toward the poor with that of Pope **John Paul II**. After Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R., N.C.) cried foul, State Dept.'s inspector general investigated Flynn for "an appearance of partisanship." . . . Despite former Minister of Justice **Jacques Toubon**'s campaign against *franglais*, l'Académie Française approved *gangster* for common use.

■ Question going the rounds in D.C.: What will **Hillary** have to agree to in order to obtain presidential pardon? One observer's answer: "She's already earned it."

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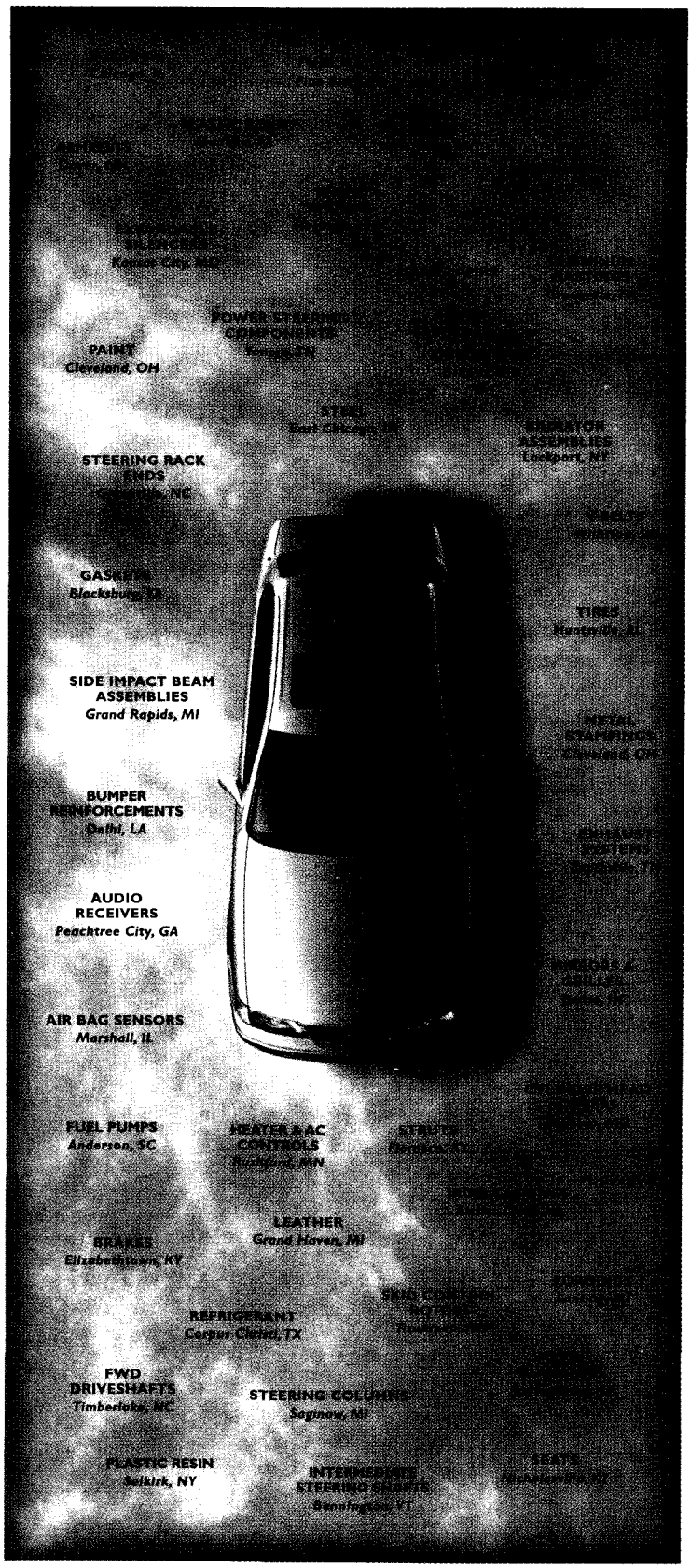

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THE WEEK

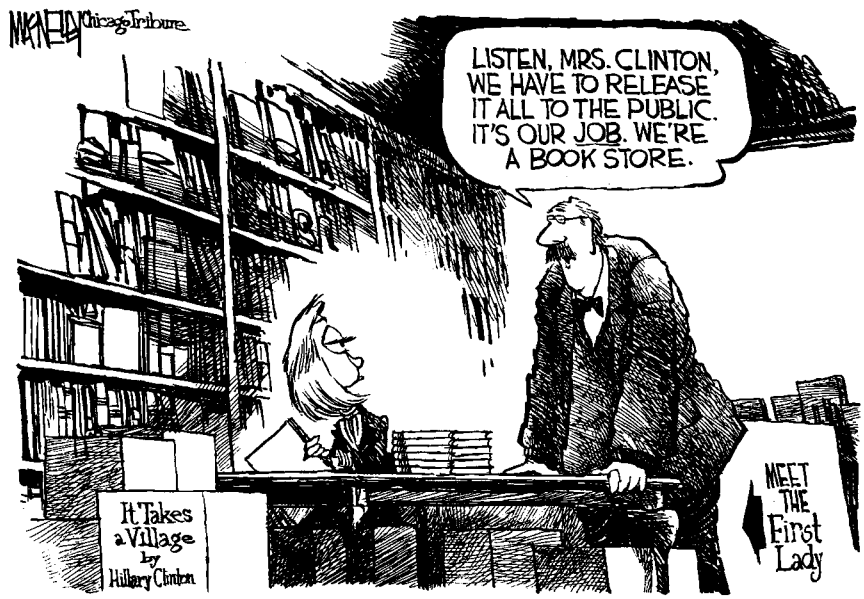
■ Scientists have found the so-called missing mass of the universe, the invisible matter that shapes galaxies. It was discovered in a cardboard box inside a closet at the White House.

■ It's time for Republicans to beat a strategic retreat on the balanced budget. Any attempt in the House to stick it to the President with so-called "targeted appropriations"—bills that fund Republican priorities, but not those of the Democrats (AmeriCorps, the Commerce Department)—will appear vindictive, rather than simply economy-oriented. And the President will just veto the bills. Nor should Republicans give Mr. Clinton a reason to paint them as "extremists" by playing politics with the debt limit. The GOP's best option is to pass a continuing resolution funding the government for the rest of the year at levels low enough that they can say they have cut spending as much as could be done with a recalcitrant Democrat in the White House. Then they should put the budget behind them. Republicans can continue to slam the Clinton budget proposal as dishonest, but only within the context of a wide-ranging assault on the President designed to collect as many vetoes (or Senate filibusters) on tough issues as possible. In keeping with this strategy, the GOP's work on welfare should be considered complete. Clinton already sided with "welfare as we know it" with his veto of a weak reform bill this month. Why give him a second chance? Next, he should be made to declare himself on affirmative action, English as the official language, third-trimester abortions, and all the other issues pushed aside by the GOP's year-long effort to balance the books. The more chances Republicans give Clinton to obstruct popular legislation unacceptable to his liberal base, the more likely voters are to veto *him* in November. After that the "revolution" can begin in earnest.

■ In a speech to the Cato Institute, Sen. Phil Gramm became the first candidate in the presidential race to offer a comprehensive economic agenda. Gramm promises to balance the budget in his first term and, if re-elected, to start paying back the national debt. He proposes a flat tax set at 16 per cent; if his policies spark so much economic growth that federal revenues threaten to increase ahead of schedule, the rate would be cut still further. He would repeal the estate and gift taxes and work to reduce regulations to free trade. Flat-tax purists will not be perfectly satisfied—Gramm would not abolish the deductions for mortgage interest and charitable giving, as Steve Forbes does. And where Forbes would eliminate capital-gains taxes, Gramm would apply the 16 per cent rate to them after adjusting for inflation. But if enacted, Gramm's proposal would still provide the most favorable treatment of capital in recent history. And it's the most politically attractive reform plan around. By retaining the two deductions and by taxing investment income at the individual level rather than at the business level, Gramm cuts off openings for liberal attacks while sacrificing little of substance. Any candidate who wants to offer a different plan is going to have a tough act to follow.

■ Tax-policy wonks were recently treated to the rarest of rarities: a controlled experiment in supply-side theory. In 1993 the top federal income-tax rate for the highest-income families ($250,000+) was increased from 31 per cent to 39.6 per cent. The income cap on Medicare taxes was also eliminated, effectively tacking on another 2.9 per cent. By contrast, income-tax rates on the middle-income group ($50,000 to $200,000) didn't change. So we have, in effect, two test tubes—tax hike, and no tax hike—with everything else held constant. The results? Gross income of the "tax hike" highest bracket fell $31 billion short of the level it would have reached had it kept pace with the gross income of the "no tax hike" middle-brackets in 1993. So instead of collecting an extra $16 billion, Uncle Sam received just $5 billion, according to a National Bureau of Economic Research study. By earning less, highest earners have pushed a larger share of federal taxes onto the backs of the rest of us.

■ President Clinton toyed with a core belief that he would like to punch columnist William Safire in the nose for calling Miz Hillary a congenital liar. He has not yet expressed any core belief about punching out columnists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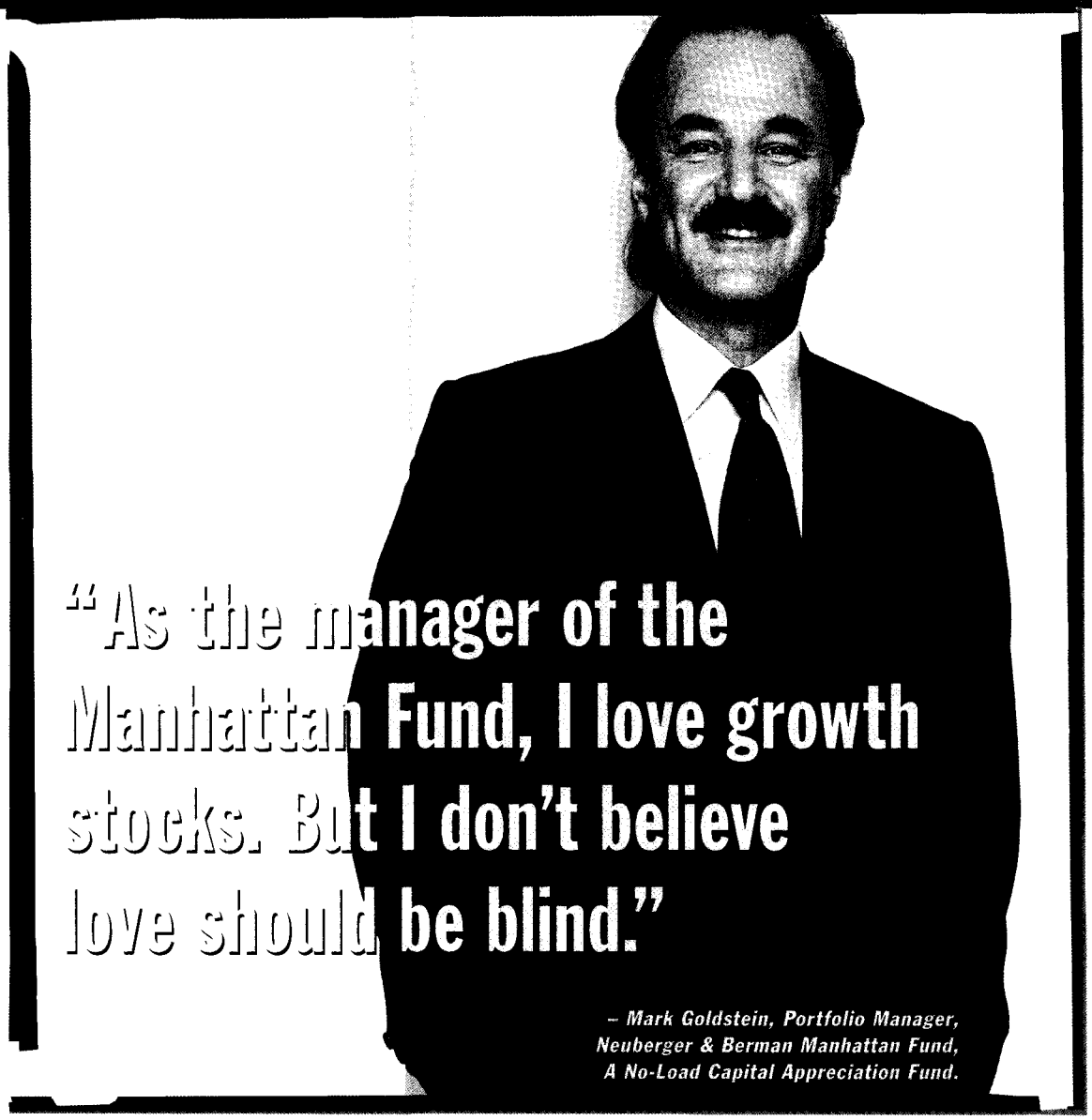

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Suzanne Fields, Georgie Anne Geyer, and Mona Charen, among others who concluded Miz Hillary was you-know-whatting about her role in Travelgate and Whitewater.

■ A while back Nina Totenberg of National Public Radio said that "if there is retributive justice," Jesse Helms will "get AIDS from a transfusion, or one of his grandchildren will get it." The tireless Arnold Beichman has found a source for her moral reasoning. After the 1986 Chernobyl disaster, the anti-nuclear activist Dr. Helen Caldicott told a reporter that "the accident should have happened here. I hate to say that as a physician, but unless there are thousands of American martyrs, nothing will be done." Dr. Caldicott has disappeared since the end of the Cold War. Maybe Nina Totenberg could find out where, and join her.

■ It is the conventional wisdom of welfare reformers across the political spectrum that people on welfare must move to the work force. The problem is that welfare pays too well for most of them to afford to work. The latest Cato Institute Policy Report shows that in New York City welfare provides the equivalent of an hourly pre-tax wage of $14.75 (it's $11.35 in Baltimore and $10.90 in Detroit). In 40 states welfare pays more than $8.00 an hour, and in 17 states more than $10 an hour. In 9 states welfare pays more than the average first-year salary of a schoolteacher, and in 29 states more than the average starting pay of a secretary. In 47 states it pays more than a janitor gets. In the 6 most generous states a first-year computer programmer would be better off on welfare. How many *NR* readers would be better off on welfare? And would they use the extra cash to buy subscriptions for friends?

■ An observant reader notes an apparent contradiction among *NR* editors. Contributing Editor Stephen Moore argues in *NR* (December 25) that Republicans are losing the budget battle because Federal Government spending will continue to increase in dollar terms. Senior Editor Peter Brimelow, with help from *NR* Economics Analyst Ed Rubenstein, argued in *Forbes* (December 18) that Republicans are winning because federal spending will fall as a share of the economy (at least 3 percentage points of Gross Domestic Product between 1995 and 2005—both in the Republican *and in the White House* plans). Who's right? Both. Dollars spent are important because there's no absolute reason why spending should move *pari passu* with GDP. But the Federal Government's *share* of GDP is the ultimate issue, because it measures Washington's stultifying effect. Now all we need is for those out-year forecasts to be something like accurate.

■ The presidential campaign, as George Will remarked, is generating more detailed policy arguments than usual. Yet the recent Republican debates have been remarkably unedifying, with most of the cheap shots aimed at Steve Forbes and his flat tax. (See "On the Right," p. 62.) The low point of the Iowa debate came when Lamar Alexander trashed Forbes for having raised the price of his magazine. Far worse than the unfairness to Forbes is the possibility that the rumble could bury tax reform as an issue. Grover Norquist of Americans for Tax Reform has sent an open letter to the candidates reminding them that in "a similar heated primary season not long ago, one candidate's unfortunate remarks about 'voodoo economics' did incalculable damage to the party over a period of years and contributed to a climate of distrust that ultimately doomed a Presidency." Ronald Reagan's 11th Commandment was meant to protect the climate of opinion, as much as personalities.

■ The House and Senate have reconciled their versions of the FY1996 defense authorization bill, but only at the price of significant concessions by the House conferees. The commitment to deploy a multiple-site ground-based national defense against ballistic missiles by the year 2003 has been dropped, as were restrictions on the President's freedom to dispatch U.S. troops under UN command. The Administration will be cheered by these concessions. Meanwhile, also on the defense front, some liberals have started once again casting their eye on the defense budget as a place to raid for funds for domestic programs. It won't fly. This year's defense appropriation (already signed into law) puts spending at about $265 billion. That's 40 per cent below the 1985 level in real terms, and a little over 3 per cent of GDP—lower than at any time since before Pearl Harbor. We've cut enough.

■ The uproar over the World Trade Organization's ruling against the United States for differential pricing is embarrassing. If ever they ruled against us motivated by reasoning manifestly tendentious, then that would be the time to tell the court—and, for that matter, GATT—to go to hell. But when you join in a conference to set the speed limit and proceed to exceed that limit, you should expect to be stopped, and should be stopped. The principal beneficiary of free trade is the American people, and it is for that reason that Congress and Presidents Reagan, Bush,

The Waffle Guards

Dick Gephardt's like his shadow.
Gore, trending toward the plump,
Jogs gamely in his running shorts
And really works his rump.
They con him in the press room.
They monitor each speech.
They hold his tootsies to the flame,
So sometimes there's a screech.

—W. H. von Dreele

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POSTAL NOTES

Your mailbox could become a ballot-box.

Voting by mail is an idea whose time has come. In December, the State of Oregon held the nation's first statewide vote-by-mail congressional primary election. And, it has been used since 1977 for local issues and elections.

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Voting by mail also increases voter participation—it broke all records in Oregon. It gives voters plenty of time to make a decision. It eliminates waiting in line to vote, and the problems that keep people away from the polling place, such as bad weather, age or physical handicaps. Voter participation has topped 90% in some contests.

Such results are gratifying to us at the U.S. Postal Service. If voting by mail works in Oregon, why not in other states, or even nationwide? We're glad people trust us to deliver their vote and like the idea of bringing the ballot box and the voter closer together.

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and Clinton entered into a convenant whose executive arm should have no alternative than to rule on the facts, which the court did.

■ Secretary of State Warren Christopher mentioned in passing in a Harvard speech on January 18 that admission of the Central European democracies into NATO would proceed "on a roughly parallel track" with their entry into the European Union. But linking the NATO and EU timetables for admitting new members only slows down the NATO process, since the EU, at its December meeting in Madrid, put off the *beginning* of any such membership talks until 1998 at the earliest. This is another sop to Russia and another slap in the face for the Central Europeans.

■ Disturbing evidence continues to surface of discrimination on Death Row. Guinevere A. Garcia, an inmate in Illinois, made news by publicly pleading to be put to death. (Gov. Edgar ultimately commuted her sentence.) As Professor Victor Streib told the *New York Times*, "We've sentenced 112 women to death since 1973 and only executed one. . . . It was nearly a joke in the business that for a woman to get executed she would have to volunteer, and that's what's happening now." If there is any merit in the call for more executions of white men to bring that statistic in line with the figure for black men, then there should be many, many more executions of women, black and white. America executes thirty or forty people a year, all men. If enough women to make up the difference can't be found languishing on Death Row, the obvious solution is to extend the death penalty to lesser offenses than murder. Since women don't commit rape very often, we'd be willing to consider littering, driving too slowly on the freeway, and eating peanuts from supermarket bins without paying for them as new capital crimes. Let Justice reign and flourish through the land, nor youth, nor charms divert her iron hand.

■ A social-service inspector in England has acted, censuring a vicar who operates a day-care center. His offense? There are no black dolls for the kiddies. They do have one or two yellow dolls, who represent the Sino-Japanese community. But even though there are no black children in this center, the inspector reminded the vicar, there are black children elsewhere, and so this affront to multiculture must cease. And then there was the church ceremony in Coventry intended to honor the automobile. An 1897 Daimler sputtered its way down the aisle, but its exhaust nearly asphyxiated the congregation. They recovered, only to succumb again when a young woman stripped naked, *à la* Lady Godiva, the better to make her point, which was a naked protest against the ravages of the motor car. The madness is not entirely domestic.

■ Heard from the Greens: Now that two of the last three winters have proved colder, icier, and snowier than any others in the last half-century, there can no longer be any doubt about the reality of global warming.

■ What did Hillary know, and when did she shred it?

Billy Dale, Travel Agent

(To the tune of Ko-Ko's "Taken from the county jail . . .")

Hauled in by the FBI
On instructions from the Mrs.,
Terminated on the sly
As she orchestrated hisses;
Summoned to a jury trial
(Hey, she wanted him committed!),
Billy won acquittal while
She and hubby still get twitted.

—W. H. VON DREELE

Big Government, R I P

THE cameras situated in the dome of the House chamber, giving the viewer a shot every twenty minutes or so of the President of the United States, the Vice President, the Speaker, the House members, the Senate, the Supreme Court, the diplomatic corps, and Richard Dean, gave the impression of tiny marionettes, sitting, clapping, rising, not clapping. Back in their regular station, the cameras trained mostly on the President, interrupted 79 times by applause, frequently by standing applause. The reality of the political situation was hidden by whatever protocol it is that permits the camera to focus on both the Speaker and the Vice President when both are standing and clapping, but only on the Vice President when the Speaker remains seated. It is as if the cameramen were in league with the President and his calls for unity and an end to factional strife. State of the Union addresses aren't the occasion on which to boo the umpire, as the 73 freshman Republican congressmen were told in a coaching session on etiquette earlier in the day. What those of us watching on ABC didn't see was who got up and who didn't when Mr. Clinton announced that this was the end of the era of Big Government.

Did the Democrats sit still on this one, and the Republicans rise? Or did the Republicans demonstrate their clairvoyance by sitting still, in rebuke of arrant cynicism? And did the Democrats (the Kennedy brand) sit still in protest against the platonic rebuke of their appetite to let the engines of entitlement carry the budget forward from 24 per cent of GNP to the 40-plus per cent where it is bound, in the absence of a sharp turn to the right, in ten years? Or did they clap, in faithful exercise of the conven-

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tion that anything the President of your party says at State of the Union time, you applaud as a matter of loyalty?

Senator Dole attempted an answer. But of course it is hard to stand up for ten minutes and argue against the Beatitudes. The President had decreed an end to Big Government and government guarantees of education, food, shelter, health, happiness, and school uniforms. There was little grist for Mr. Dole. And so he relied on an appeal to the people to back a party with a different vision. To back him, come to think of it. The Democrats are on a high right now, but it's spinach, and the hell with it. A year from now the chances are very good that it will be Mr. Dole speaking for an hour, and Chris Dodd or whoever doing the ten-minute rebuttal.

Russia: Illusions Shattered

THE President claims successes in the international arena, but on what is arguably the most important national-security issue of the decade his policy lies in shambles. Although bad news pours out of Russia day by day, the State Department responds with Candide-like incantations that all is for the best. It is not.

The problem isn't just Chechnya, where Moscow resorted to heavy-handed repression of Chechen hostage seizures and lied to the press about it. "As much lying as bloodshed," *Izvestia*'s headline complained. The deeper problem is the wholesale transformation of the Yeltsin government, in both policy and personnel. The last three senior officials who were pro-Western reformist democrats—foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev, chief of staff Sergei Filatov, and privatization chief Anatoly Chubais—were sacked, to appease the nationalist mood. The new foreign minister, Yevgeny Primakov, was most recently head of the Foreign Intelligence Service, where he blithely continued espionage operations against the United States. Primakov sees rebuilding Russia's great-power status as his main assignment.

The Administration gambled naïvely for three years that Yeltsin's Russia was a friend. Now the gamble is lost. A Red–Brown Communist–nationalist coalition runs the Duma, and one of its members could win the presidency in June. But even if Yeltsin is re-elected, Russian *policy* has already turned in an ominous direction as Yeltsin rapidly adopts the positions of his nationalist opponents. The game is already over, and it's time for an American policy that reflects this.

Kemp's Forward Pass

REPUBLICANS have spent months pushing for tax cuts within the existing income-tax structure, cuts that would, at most, reduce federal revenues by 2.5 per cent. Moreover, conservative activists have repeatedly had to hold legislators' feet to the fire to prevent them from shrinking the tax cuts further. Could tax reform—i.e., a real overhaul of the tax structure—become a Republican version of the Clintons' health-care reform? In both cases, the politics gets more treacherous once the goal is embodied in specific legislation. At that point, an abstract goal is pitted against concrete interests: e.g., one's own, existing health-care arrangements or mortgage-interest deduction.

So it is important to do what the Clintons largely did not do in 1993–94: develop carefully and thoroughly the case against the status quo. That's why Jack Kemp's Commission on Economic Growth and Tax Reform was right to steer clear of a specific plan that critics could target. Instead, the commission documented the flaws of the current system and outlined the principles that should guide reformers. Republicans can continue to debate the specifics among themselves while using the campaign to build public support for their general approach.

In particular, Republicans have to take the issue of tax fairness head on. With certain honorable exceptions, they have been pathetically defensive on this subject ever since George Mitchell blocked George Bush's proposed capital-gains tax cuts. If the GOP wants to embark on a frontal assault on the progressivity of the tax code, it had better prepare itself. And it should realize that no rhetorical strategy can finesse this issue if the party becomes associated with a plan that would raise taxes on a large portion of the middle class. Tax reform will work only if it is also a major tax cut.

Radical tax-cutters can claim at least one big advantage over the Clintons: people were generally satisfied with their own health care, and the Clintons were thus vulnerable to the argument that "there is no health-care crisis." Are most people happy with their 1040s?

It Takes a Grand Jury

WHILE Hillary Clinton was beginning her book tour (see "Throwing the Book at Her," by Richard Brookhiser, p. 24), Democrats made sport of the Senate Whitewater Committee's investigations. "So what?" was the cry that issued from Democratic flacks—Rep. Henry Waxman, James Carville, Paul Begala—echoing each other like pre-set cuckoo clocks. Senator D'Amato, the pundits opined, might be dragging out an investigation in order to give his friend Bob Dole a leg up against Mrs. Clinton's husband.

Now they will have to cast their aspersions on Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and his grand jury, before whom Mrs. Clinton was scheduled to testify on January 26. Mr. Starr, like Senator D'Amato, is curious to know about documents concerning Mrs. Clinton's involvement with the affairs of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan. What is the likeliest explanation for their turning up more than a year after they were first subpoenaed in a room on

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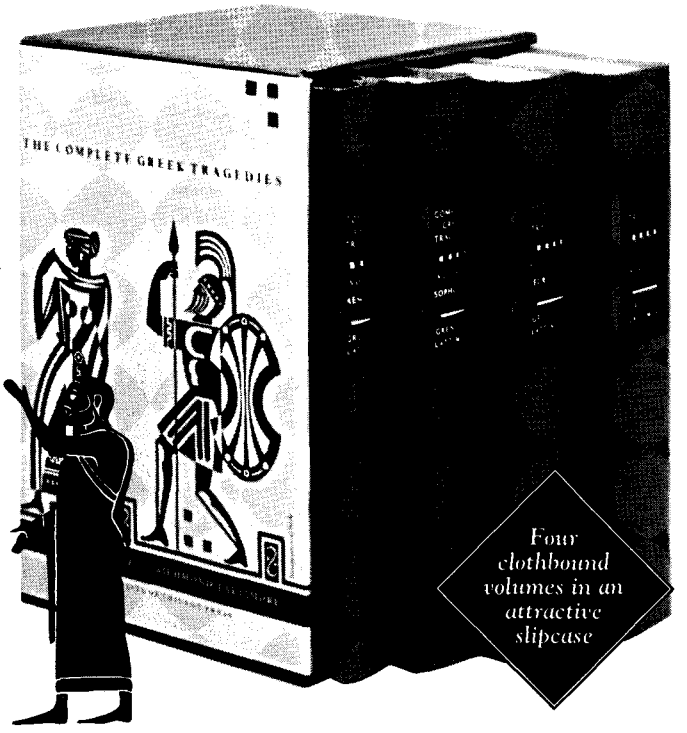

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the residential third floor of the White House? Since Mr. Starr is uninvolved in the Dole campaign, he presumably has no electoral axe to grind.

Senator D'Amato wants $600,000 and an extension of his committee's deadline to finish its report. Inquiries take time when their subjects stonewall.

One Law for Them, Another for Us

FOR sheer contempt of the law it is hard to match the Environmental Protection Agency. Take its handling of Section 812 of the Clean Air Act amendments of 1990, which requires it to produce for the Congress regular cost/benefit studies of the impact of the legislation. The 1990 law directs the EPA to deliver its first report by November 1991 and to issue an update every two years.

No such reports have ever been produced.

Back in May 1993, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote to EPA administrator Carol Browner complaining about the EPA's failure to produce the clean-air-impact report as required by law. She did not deign to reply. Then the General Accounting Office was asked to monitor the EPA; in February 1994 it reported that the first report (due in November 1991) would be completed by the end of that year. Again, no reports were produced.

Freedom of Information Act requests filed by the Washington Legal Foundation showed the agency had produced drafts of portions of the original report, but not followed through. It did not have "sufficient resources." The agency's budget is only $6 billion. It has spent $1.4 million so far on the incomplete unpublished November 1991 report.

Earlier this month some congressmen decided to try something new. Using the Washington Legal Foundation as their lawyer they filed suit against the EPA for violating the Clean Air Act. The Foundation's legal director, Paul Kamenar, said: "The EPA demands that the business community prepare and file timely reports or else face civil and criminal sanctions, yet the EPA thinks it can flout the law with impunity when it comes to filing its own report about the enormous price tag of EPA's environmental regulations." So far, it certainly has.

Daniel O. Graham, R I P

LT. GEN. Daniel O. Graham rose through the ranks to become deputy director of the CIA and director of the Defense Intelligence Agency. His medals and honors tell the official part of Graham's military career. But his greatest service to his nation came after his retirement from the U.S. Army, as the top military advisor to candidate Ronald Reagan.

Graham studied weapons systems and technology with the best of them: Edward Teller, Lowell Wood, Hank Cooper. When Graham became interested in a cause, he examined it, evaluated it, and, if he believed in it, became its best advocate. He became a true believer in the need for an American strategic-defense system.

As President, Reagan listened carefully when General Graham presented him with the Heritage Foundation's High Frontier report. In March 1983, President Reagan publicly announced that SDI would be the centerpiece of his Administration's national-security policy.

Mr. SDI is dead, but his vision remains.

—EDWIN J. FEULNER JR.

Thomas F. Murphy, R I P

THOMAS F. Murphy was a great bear of a man—and like many big men there was a gentleness about him, and a humorous self-deprecation. I spoke to him first when, as the *Newsweek* editor assigned to cover the trial of Alger Hiss, I needed color on the attorney who would be the prosecutor. "I'm the brother of Johnny Murphy [the pitcher], for relaxation I read Proust in the French, and my clothes are made by Omar the Tentmaker," he said. He added that he had also prosecuted "some Nazis." It was little to go on, and not reassuring, given the past efforts of the Truman Justice Department to turn its guns on Whittaker Chambers.

But as the case moved through its preliminaries and into court, I got to know Tom Murphy and to respect his skills. For eloquence, he relied on sincerity. He never tried to browbeat or overwhelm witnesses. To the nimble-footed and condescending Alger Hiss, this was a sign of social inferiority and a plodding mind, but when he attempted to correct Tom Murphy's grammar from the witness stand, he saw his mistake and apologized.

What made us friends was not only a shared understanding of the issues, but, more, Tom Murphy's treatment of Whittaker Chambers. He realized from the start that this was no ordinary witness, just as this was no ordinary trial. In those anguished and drama-driven days of the first trial, he grew to understand the depth of the Chambers character and the metaphysics of the Chambers vision—and this communicated itself to the jury. The Hiss trial brought Tom Murphy a modicum of fame, and his cross-examination of Hiss's "psychiatric" witnesses made legal history. But he continued to live unostentatiously, never conceding that in prosecuting Alger Hiss with determination, he had shown great courage and a disdain for the political correctness of the time.

When *Newsweek* transferred me to Washington, I lost touch with him. But Chambers would talk about him, as we sat on the porch of his farmhouse in Westminster, expressing a deep gratitude for the dignity with which he had been treated during his ordeal. Now, like most of those who stood on the stage of the case, Tom Murphy

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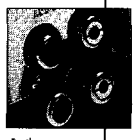

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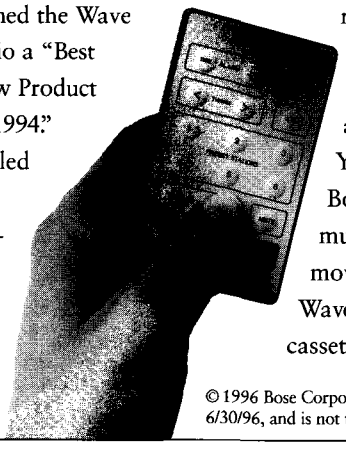

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too is gone, responding to the distant horn that calls to us from the dark wood. —Ralph de Toledano

Notes & Asides

Courtesy of *The New Yorker* magazine, I devote this page to reproducing their "Shouts and Murmurs" of January 8. These are headline predictions for 1996, done by a young writer of impeccable background and training, Christopher Buckley. **—WFB**

Buchanan Calls for 'Defirmative Action'

Women, Minorities Would Surrender Their Jobs to 'Least Qualified White Man'

* * *

Oklahoma Bomber Sues Timing Device Manufacturer

Client 'Should Have Been in Canada' When Bomb Went Off, Says Lawyer

* * *

Gingrich to Give Republican Response To Clinton State of Union Simultaneously

Speaker Will Mostly Use Hand Gestures

* * *

Discovery of Early Skull in Mongolia May Prove Man Descended from Pigs

* * *

French Embassy in Algiers Is Torched by Mob

* * *

France Announces It Will Conduct Aboveground Nuclear Testing in Algeria

* * *

Disney Acquires United States Treasury

Move 'Merely Completes' Buyout, Says Eisner

* * *

FedEx and Ex-Lax to Merge

Guaranteed Overnight Physic to Be Called 'FedEx-Lax'

* * *

Dornan Accuses Former Sen. Richard Lugar Of Making WWII Pistol for German Army

* * *

Dole Picks Colin Powell as His Running-Mate

* * *

Clinton Hints That Gore Is Black, Too

* * *

Woodward Book Alleges Liddy Dole Selling Red Cross Blood to Raise $$ For Husband's Campaign

White House Admits Finding Black Gore Ancestor 'Might Challenge' Genealogists

But Insists VP is 'Technically' African-American, and Proud of It

* * *

Colorado Militia Blows Up New Denver Airport

* * *

Denver Airport Bombers Are Given Ticker-Tape Parade Through Downtown

Mayor Hails 'Heroes' and Presents Them with Keys To Old Airport

* * *

Poll: 63 Per Cent of Americans Say Lugar Should Apologize for Aiding German Army During WWII

* * *

Philip Morris Unveils 'Marlboro Woman' Campaign

Aimed at Independent Females Who Want to Lose Weight While Shortening Lifespan

* * *

Amex to Issue 'Plutonium Card'

Will Have $5 Mil Line of Credit; Drawback—Makes Users' Hair Fall Out

* * *

Microsoft Rolls Out Windows 96

Multi-Tasking Software Will Allow Users to Make Toast While Surfing the Net

* * *

Perot Picks Ideal Running-Mate: Himself

* * *

To Fight Nagging Controversy, Lugar to Change Name to Colt

* * *

Schwarzkopf Endorses Clinton

* * *

Schwarzkopf Says Endorsement 'Nothing Personal' Against Powell

Clinton Promised Him Bigger Ambassadorship

* * *

Elizabeth Taylor Announces She Will Hold Next Eight Weddings All at Once

Multi-Nups Will Save Time, Lawyers' Fees

* * *

McVeigh Wins $50 Million in Suit Against Detonator Manufacturer

* * *

International Court in Hague Indicts Richard Lugar for War Crimes □

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55	$ 1,565	$ 2,015	$ 2,640
60	$ 2,465	$ 3,185	$ 4,149
65	$ 4,215	$ 5,265	$ 6,819
70	$ 6,975	$ 9,710	$11,645

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CAPITAL SCENE

Charge of the Light Brigade

RICH LOWRY

Roman Genn

LAST FALL the net seemed to be closing in on the Clinton Administration. Congressional Republicans, pushed along by a gung-ho group of young House members, were refusing to increase the government's authority to borrow unless the President signed a balanced budget. If that threatened a U.S. default, so be it; it was a price worth paying to get Clinton to do the right thing. The very idea made the Clinton Administration squeal: Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin warned in September that failing to raise the limit "could cause profound damage to our country," as even the possibility of a default would "do permanent damage to our credit standing."

Four months later the debt limit still hasn't been raised, President Clinton hasn't signed a balanced budget, and the nation's credit rating is just fine. As soon as the President vetoed the GOP's debt-limit bill in mid November, Rubin tapped federal pension funds to cover Treasury's obligations, a dubious move that he himself called "unprecedented."

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

But it completed a political hat trick. Rubin's disingenuous warnings of the dire consequences of GOP tactics had created the impression that Republicans are "extreme"; the defense of a possible default by some Republicans tended to confirm it; and, finally, Rubin's easy evasion of the limit undercut one of the pillars of the GOP strategy of confrontation. "That was our ace in the hole," says one Senate aide.

And, as it turns out, it all was exquisitely planned. A memo to Rubin from as early as June 27 included a nine-page attachment: "Outline of Debt Limit Strategy." The document calls for "Close project management throughout phases" and "Ongoing briefings and centralized messages" for "administration officials." The heavily edited memo —entire pages have been cut out—is one of a cache of documents the Joint Economic Committee has obtained from Treasury that suggest the department always knew it had a way out of the debt squeeze and never had any intention of working with Congress, which would have been the responsible thing to do. Instead, it orchestrated a shameless scare campaign, both to score political points and, apparently, to seduce the GOP into over-reliance on the debt limit. It worked.

The Republican charge that started with the Contract with America has turned into not quite a retreat, but a haphazard assault on a President who has outflanked their every attack. The latest Clinton trump card was producing a seven-year balanced budget scored by the Congressional Budget Office. The proposal is bogus (all the savings are put off until 2000 and beyond), but it puts the GOP in the position of rejecting a budget that meets its loudly trumpeted criteria: seven years, CBO-scored. What to do? "First, we don't even have an agreement that we need a strategy," says one distraught GOP operative. "Second, if we had a strategy, we don't have the wherewithal to get other people in the party to buy in. Third, if we did, we don't have the discipline to hold it for more than two and a half days because these [guys] will run off and do something different. So, there's real trouble."

The GOP disarray has several sources, some fundamental, others involving poor tactics. The deepest cause is that after the 1994 election Republicans believed their own rhetoric: that their victory was inevitable, a product of the shifting tides of history. So, just as a stunned White House and a new Democratic minority were willing to do anything to effect a comeback in 1996—including lie—the GOP was determined to govern; it embarked on a "historic" budget-balancing effort that in some cases meant suppressing partisan self-interest—on Medicare votes, for instance. From the start, hot-button issues like crime were given a back seat to a good-faith effort to make the numbers come out right. While the White House played cynical politics, the GOP did exactly the opposite.

Emblematic of the new attitude was the exclusion of Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour from crucial Gingrich–Dole strategy meetings. Barbour had played a key role in recent GOP successes, from the campaign on the Contract with America in the fall of 1994 to the GOP's public-education drive on Medicare last summer. All were party-wide efforts undertaken with an eye to the political bottom line. He helped make the Dole–Gingrich meetings happen. But early last fall Barbour was told he was no longer welcome (fingers point to Dole's chief of staff, Sheila Burke, for prompting the decision). While the White House tapped its top political talent for the budget fight, says one RNC insider, "we brought in the green eyeshades." And it showed.

TAKE the continuing resolution (CR) Republicans passed to keep the government running in November. The CR included a provision to increase Medicare premiums; it was meant to avoid a glitch that would have had premiums senselessly drop, then rise again in 1996. Clinton predictably ignored the details, vetoing the CR and slamming the higher premiums. "At the beginning I was very, very

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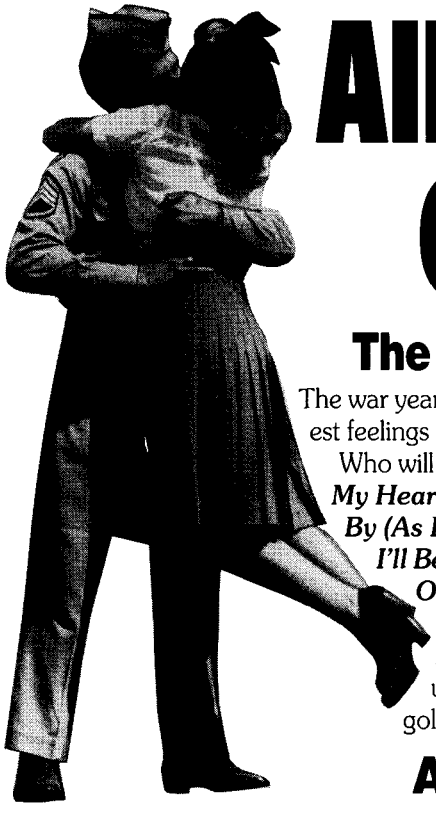

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SAMMY KAYE

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DINAH SHORE

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FREDDY MARTIN

How Many Hearts Have You Broken
THE THREE SUNS

I'll Be Seeing You
TOMMY DORSEY

White Christmas
GORDON JENKINS

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VAUGHN MONROE

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afraid of doing this, of putting it on the CR," is how House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer explains the decision. "And then I began to look at the options and I said, Well, wait a minute. If we don't do it, it's going to be worse in May in an election year. And so we might as well take the heat now rather than in May. And then toward the end of our leadership meetings I began to look at it further and say, Wait a minute. [Clinton's] going to veto this CR anyhow. Why should we take the heat for putting this on there and giving him an excuse that will cover up his real reason for vetoing it?"

That's what happened. At the root of the GOP confusion on this and other matters was a misreading of Clinton. After the elections Republicans proclaimed the President "irrelevant." Some conservatives even argued that it didn't matter if he were re-elected. A related—and more understandable—misapprehension was that the President would move to the center ("triangulate") with an eye to his re-election. Instead, he shifted left and proved not just oblivious to good-government considerations, but more willing to play dirty than even partisan Republicans had imagined. And as Republicans wrangled last fall with unavoidable issues like timber sales in the Tongass National Forest, the Administration simply blew them away on communications. "When they come out you can feel it," says one top GOP aide. "You can lash yourself to the mast."

This obliterated another leg of Republican strategy, which was attempting to govern through appropriations bills. As the balanced budget squeezed out the rest of the GOP agenda, the appropriations bills—meant, in theory, to deal only with spending issues—became vehicles for conservative policy in areas ranging from abortion to grant reform. The idea was that Clinton would swallow an uncomfortable measure or two to preserve funding for essential functions of government. Not so. The President broadcast his intentions on one of the first appropriations bills to reach his desk, a responsible bill funding the legislative branch at reduced levels. Clinton vetoed it solely to score points against Congress—and got away with it. That pattern has been repeated even after Republican concessions, let alone further attempts to shoe-horn controversial policy into bills.

The debt-limit misfire, the ease with which the President avoided responsibility for vetoed appropriations bills and the two partial government shutdowns, as well as his unexpected determination not to cut a deal, had the effect of handing the advantage of constancy to the White House. Republicans were left angling for new traction every day. Newt Gingrich in particular turned out to be less than a rock of resolve. "He won't stay in one spot," says one close observer. "Therefore we lost consistency. We kept changing our message and we spoke in Washington language." The final irony was that the poll numbers (all the Administration seems to care about) were beginning to turn against Clinton in both shutdowns just as Republicans called it quits; the GOP got all the pain and none of the gain.

Barring a breakthrough with the White House (Republicans are still threatening to hold the debt limit hostage), the question for Republicans should be how to put the balanced budget and the remaining appropriations bills behind them. The sooner the better. Then they can move on to what they eschewed last year: focused assaults on Democratic vulnerabilities like crime and affirmative action. So far, perhaps the GOP's most politically clever bill is the ban on partial-birth abortions, tight legislation that appeals to the GOP base and at the same time puts President Clinton in a box. It was this kind of politics that former Democratic Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell specialized in before the 1992 elections, as he ignored the imperatives of governing and forced George Bush into a series of tough vetoes. If the GOP does the same this year, the tides of history will take care of themselves. □

Powell Preferred

TERRY EASTLAND

LAST YEAR, Congress repealed the tax-certificate policy administered since 1978 by the Federal Communications Commission. Under the policy, the owner of a broadcast station wishing to sell the property could win a substantial tax break if he found a minority buyer. Typically, the seller would pass on some of the savings through a price lower than what the free market would have commanded, giving the buyer an immediate windfall profit. Obviously, the point of the preferential scheme was to ensure minority purchase and ownership of broadcast and cable stations. Over the years, roughly three hundred tax-certificate deals were consummated.

One of these benefited Colin Powell. In 1985, Powell's wealthy uncle J. Bruce Llewellyn recruited him and dozens of other blacks—including Quincy Jones, O. J. Simpson, Patrick Ewing, Julius Erving, Dave Winfield, Donald McHenry, and Mr. T—to buy WKBW-TV in Buffalo. Powell put in $100,000—the amount he had made through repeated sales of homes, according to *Newsweek*. Eight months ago, Powell sold his 1 per cent interest in the station for $250,000, a substantial but hardly suspicious profit.

While pondering a presidential bid, Powell in an interview last September with *The New Yorker* observed that the tax-certificate policy would be problematic "if you got a bunch of white guys with a brother fronting for them." In that case, he said, "get rid of it. That doesn't serve any purpose for us." Oddly, Henry Louis Gates Jr., who snared the interview with Powell, failed to point out that Congress had in fact got rid of the policy, in part because of its preferential nature, in part also because it was costing the Treasury $500 million a year. Gates thus did not ask Powell whether he agreed with the repeal legislation, signed into law by a reluctant President Clinton.

The question was certainly worth asking. The FCC justified the policy, not in terms of past discrimination against minorities, but on the grounds that the views of racial minorities were inadequately represented in the broadcast media. The theory was that a minority-owned station would offer more minority programming than a non-minority-owned station would. There was never any good evidence to support this

Mr. Eastland is editor of Forbes MediaCritic *and a fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center. His latest book,* Ending Affirmative Action: The Case for Colorblind Justice, *will be published in March by Basic Books.*

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theory, and the argument indulged in the racialist stereotype that there is such a thing as a minority and a non-minority viewpoint—that, to put it bluntly, cerebration is a function of skin color. Given that Powell's career has belied racial stereotypes, it is ironic that he should have been involved in a transaction explicitly premised on one.

It is by no means hypocritical to benefit from policies with which you disagree. On the other hand, because Powell has announced his intention to "speak out forcefully" on the issues of the day "as a member of the Republican Party," he is going to have to clarify his views. Affirmative action is destined to be a major issue this year. Indeed, Congress could vote as early as this spring on legislation sponsored by Sen. Robert Dole and Rep. Charles Canady that would eliminate preferences in all federal programs. And on Election Day, voters in California may well be asked to vote on a ballot initiative that would ban preferences in state and local government.

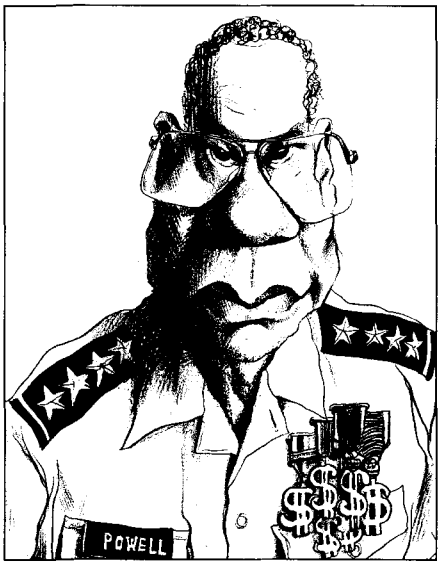
Powell's likely position on these two measures? It's hard to predict. Powell could indeed fulfill his stated intention to "help the party of Lincoln move once again closer to the spirit of Lincoln." Or he could prove to be less a Lincoln Republican than a Clinton Democrat.

In *My American Journey*, Powell appeared to come out decisively against preferences. "Preferences, no matter how well intended," he wrote, "ultimately breed resentment among the non-preferred. And preferential treatment demeans the achievements that minority Americans win by their own efforts." Powell condemned affirmative action "that leads to preferences" and therefore "reverse discrimination." And in a sentence worthy of Clarence Thomas, he said, "Discrimination 'for' one group means, inevitably, discrimination 'against' another; and all discrimination is offensive."

If the Powell file on affirmative action contained only this much, it would be easy to anticipate his support for the Dole–Canady bill as well as the California Civil Rights Initiative. What complicates the task of prediction are three other items in that file.

1. Powell also wrote in *My American Journey*: "If a history of discrimination has made it difficult for certain Americans to meet standards, it is only fair to provide temporary means to help them catch up and compete on equal terms." By "temporary means," Powell could mean training programs open to all—regardless of race—who need help in meeting standards. But "temporary means" also could be a euphemism for preferences, justified in terms of "societal discrimination"—a rationale Dole–Canady and the CCRI, not to mention the Supreme Court, firmly reject.

2. In his book, Powell distinguished between preferential affirmative action and that which is not—presumably outreach and recruitment programs that cast the net far and wide. This is a distinction both Dole–Canady and the CCRI would preserve. During his book tour, however, Powell drew another distinction: between affirmative-action programs that have "outlived their usefulness," as he put it in a speech to the American Bar Association, and those that have not. Here Powell appeared to be lumping together all forms of affirmative action and judging them according to utility. It could be that before the ABA Powell was simply speaking in practical terms and that, asked to reflect more deeply, he would say he regards "all discrimination" as "offensive." On the other hand, the ABA Powell could be the Powell that we hear speaking up in the months to come.



Roman Genn

3. Powell has twice benefited from affirmative-action policies. In addition to the FCC's tax-certificate policy, there was the Army's personnel policy. Powell says the Army's policy isn't of the preferential variety, and he may be right. The Army has promotion "goals" but doesn't use "timetables" that create pressure for the goals to be met. The Army denies that it resorts to preferences but says that it allows candidates to keep working at it until they meet uniform standards for advancement.

The big question is how Powell understands the old tax-certificate policy. The policy was undeniably a preference. Both the Congress that ordered it and the FCC that administered it said that it was. So did everyone debating its repeal last year. The policy was not a remedy for past discrimination but a way of promoting "diversity." Its practical effect was, in the words of Michael Kinsley, to "anoint millionaires." If Powell's only concern about the policy is its vulnerability to fraud, then he might as well go to work in the Clinton White House, which unsuccessfully fought to preserve the policy. If Powell winds up choosing to support Dole–Canady and the CCRI he cannot avoid repudiating the tax-certificate policy.

It may prove personally difficult for Powell to do so. Powell is close to Vernon Jordan and Kweisi Mfume, maximalist defenders of the set-asides, bid preferences, and the like that infect the distribution of contracts and broadcasting opportunities. And clearly, if he were to support the measures, he would be embroiled in a fight with the likes of Jesse Jackson, who, with Powell in mind, has observed that "a black is capable of being a conduit for racist positions." Yes, Powell would stand to be accused of racism.

But if Powell does find his way clear to supporting the measures, he could bring a distinctive, even Lincolnian voice to the debate. Preferences can and should be opposed because they are discriminatory. But preferences are objectionable for another reason as well: their tendency to encourage the politics of racial and ethnic identity. Powell seems keenly aware of this problem, having asked in his book, "How do we end the ethnic fragmentation that is making us an increasingly hyphenated people?" His critical remarks about redistricting by race and ethnicity seem to reflect his concern about fragmentation. Because racial and ethnic gerrymandering is in principle no different from policies that count by race in admissions, employment, contracting, and other contexts, Powell could oppose the latter on account of their fragmenting, hyphenating tendencies.

Of course, we are getting ahead of ourselves. But where Powell really comes down on affirmative action could be almost as big a story in 1996 as the will-he-run? story was in 1995. □

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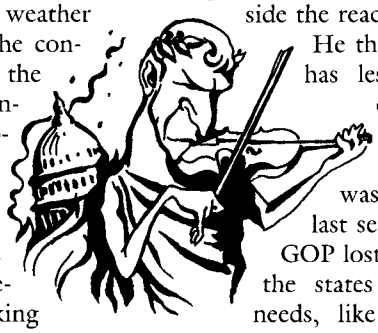
BREAD & CIRCUSES

WHILE Washington Republicans feel trapped in a demoralizing blizzard of negative poll numbers and public-relations snowdrifts, their party's beyond-the-Beltway leaders are basking in the news they heard this month at the Republican National Committee's winter meeting in San Diego. Despite rainy weather and an unsightly venue (the convention center, where the party will nominate its candidate this summer, disappointingly resembles a huge garage), nothing could dampen the spirits of the 160 party officials who look forward to returning in August and making history in November. A Republican President has not been elected to serve with an incumbent Republican Congress since 1924. Party leaders believe they have the message and the map to make a comparable sweep next fall.



In November, Bill Clinton could win Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, D.C., West Virginia, Arkansas (bear with me here), Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Washington, Oregon, California, and Hawaii—and still lose the White House. Republican demographer John Morgan rattled off this list to an incredulous audience that begged him to repeat and explain. Morgan, who handled voter analysis for the Reagan White House, flatly stated, "I don't see how Clinton can mathematically win in a two-way race."

Morgan's explanation of how tough it will be for Bill Clinton to put together 270 electoral votes is convincing. He dismisses the current national polls that are giving some Republicans the jitters. He explains that the public hasn't yet thought much about the coming elections, and the too-small samples are generally not of likely voters. He points out that these national polls do not track with state polls. Morgan concentrates on the previous election's results as the only "reality" worth analyzing. Election data tell him that a conservative GOP candidate begins with a base of 200 electoral votes. He believes the 70 extra votes needed to win will be fairly easy to capture.

Morgan puts Louisiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Tennessee, if not firmly in the Republican column, still "probably outside the reach of the Democrats." He thinks that Bill Clinton has less than a fifty–fifty chance of winning California (his victory there in 1992 was the only time in the last seven elections that the GOP lost California). Many of the states Clinton desperately needs, like Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, and Illinois, have Republican governors and party structures that have not been available to GOP presidential campaigns in the past. With RNC Chairman Haley Barbour reminding his state leaders that there is not a national election this year, but rather 51 state campaigns for President, Morgan asserts that the electoral map so favors the GOP, "it's just a matter of picking a running-mate who delivers a few states." His map reading tells him that the "smart play" would be a Catholic Midwesterner as Veep. John Engler, check your voice mail.

Even before John Morgan had played the Engler card, the RNC meeting was abuzz with speculation about the vice-presidential pick. Although the state party officials appeared to be roughly divided between the Dole and Gramm camps for the top slot, conservatives resigned to a Dole candidacy are determined that "the Bush mistake" of 1980 not be repeated this August. Conservatives who see a Dole Presidency as a placeholder, postponing a conservative realignment until 2000, want to ensure that a conservative is first in line for the nomination then. Morgan's picture of Republican electoral strength this year makes them even less willing to cede the heir-apparent slot to a "moderate" for the purpose of strengthening the ticket. If the GOP is already strong anyway, why reach out to the wimps? Colin Powell, don't sell your house.

Along with the determination that there be a thoroughly conservative running-mate, a clear campaign theme for the November race emerged from the San Diego meeting. The irrepressible John Kasich got a standing ovation when he vowed that the congressional GOP would not be party to a phony balanced-budget deal. These Republicans appeared confident that they can help their battle-weary Washington comrades make the case that Bill Clinton has blocked a balanced budget, tax cuts, and welfare reform. They plan to run against the "Say Anything, Do Nothing" President Clinton. Voters will be asked to re-elect congressional Republicans who have kept all their promises and replace an untrustworthy President who has broken all of his. The January issue of *Esquire* magazine—in which Senator Bob Kerrey declares, "Clinton's an unusually good liar. *Unusually good*," was a sell-out in the hotel gift shop.

These Republicans, immune to Washington's conventional wisdom, believe that there will be sufficient time over the coming months to counteract the $20-million false advertising campaign the Democrats and their allies have waged against entitlements and tax reform. They are convinced that their top agenda items remain popular with the public, who will also support the GOP's Medicare reform plan when they have properly understood it. The man from Hope who came to Washington as an agent of change who could get things done will be portrayed as a liberal defender of the status quo who is gumming up the works like a blind traffic cop—"President Gridlock."

AS congressional Republicans are regrouping in an effort to design a new strategy in their budget battles with the White House, RNC members already have their battle plan for the fall. John Morgan even had some words of encouragement for beleaguered Hill Republicans: reinforcements are on the way. He predicted that there will be 250 House Republicans in the 105th Congress, and a net gain of three or four seats in the Senate, with 60 Republican senators "a viable goal." No wonder foul weather and poor acoustics could not darken Republican prospects this winter in San Diego.

—KATE O'BEIRNE

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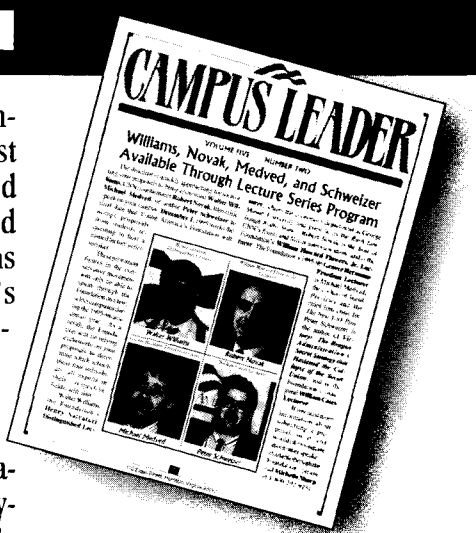

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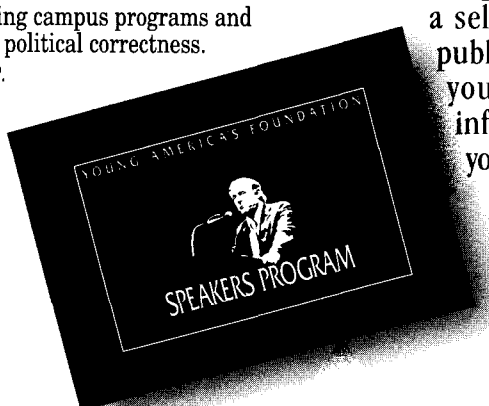

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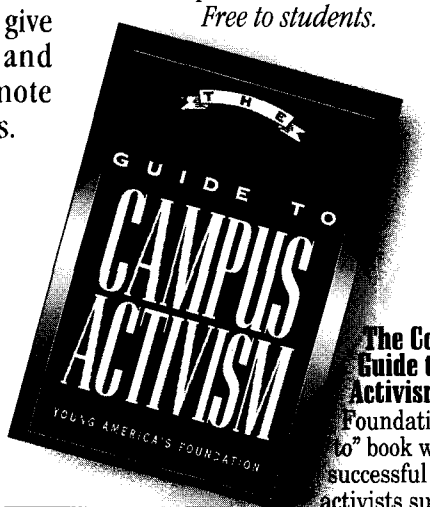

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ON THE SCENE

Throwing the Book at Her

RICHARD BROOKHISER

Roman Genn

BARNES & NOBLE

AT THE Manhattan Barnes & Noble where Hillary Clinton was dispensing copies of *It Takes a Village—And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*, there was some Gotham grumbling about the fact that you had to buy a book even to be admitted to the floor where the First Lady was. ("You mean we have to pay to see her?" asked an older woman in a lace collar and a pearl necklace.) The fact that the books had been "signed" with an automatic pen was also not popular.

But the large crowd was loyal nevertheless. The woman at the head of the line had gotten there seven hours in advance. "She's not your traditional goody-two-shoes First Lady. I think she's great"—sentiments echoed by the throng behind her.

Even as Hillary Clinton and her publishers hoped to launch her on the level of Eleanor Roosevelt, the endless Whitewater revelations were dragging her down to the level of Dogpatch sharpies. The publicity campaign for *It Takes a Village* will be a stern test of the PR maxim "so long as they spell the name right." Early signs are that the book will do well for its publisher, and that it will give a short-term boost to its author—even as her long-term future becomes ever more problematic.

The book is a handsome volume, about the size of a hymnal, priced at twenty dollars, as cheap as hardcovers go these days. The front cover is a pretty montage of cities, farms, and rolling hills. The back cover is a photo of Mrs. Clinton and ten smiling children—Democratic children, judging from the absence of white boys. Simon & Schuster printed 350,000 copies, and laid out an 11-city tour, which went from Little Rock to Boston in its first week, and visited the major TV shows.

Things went wrong even before the beginning. There was a flap about Mrs. Clinton's ghost, Barbara Feinman, whose name does not appear in the acknowledgments. Critics objected not to the universal practice of getting help, but to Mrs. Clinton's failure to honor the universal custom of crediting one's helpers. Colin Powell's ghost, Joseph E. Persico, is named on the spine of *My American Journey*. The White House first invited journalists to inspect the legal pads on which Mrs. Clinton had toiled, then allowed that Miss Feinman had worked on 8 of the 18 chapters.

Worse was the Clintons' ethical stew, which made one of its periodic bubblings. Long-lost documents showed that Hillary Clinton, who had always denied any role in the purge of the White House travel office, or in the Rose Law Firm's dealings with Madison Savings and Loan, had played a role indeed. William Safire, who had endorsed Bill Clinton in 1992, called her a "congenital liar." A reporter from the *Los Angeles Times* asked her if there would ever be an Oliver Stone movie called *Rodham*. A *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup poll taken on the eve of her book tour showed her negatives nudging ahead of her positives (51 to 43 per cent) for the first time during the Clinton Administration. Only 31 per cent thought she was "telling the truth" about Whitewater: fewer than the 39 per cent who believed her husband.

"She's out there in a big way," a New York publicist said gamely when I asked her what the effect of these developments would be on her book tour. But another publicist whose brains I picked was more hopeful. "It's been great for her. She's got this women's sympathy vote, which she wouldn't have had if she'd just been peddling a dumb little book on how to bake cookies for everybody." Mrs. Clinton played to these sentiments, recalling for her first audience in Little Rock that when her family had moved to a new neighborhood in Chicago when she was four, bullies beat her up. "My mother met me at the door, took me by the shoulders and said, 'Hillary, there's no room for cowards in this house.' You just never know when childhood experiences will be relevant." Everyone has supporters—even Richard Nixon had a chunk the day he resigned—and Mrs. Clinton's have rallied round the flag. *It Takes a Village* was the top non-fiction book in Barnes & Noble stores its first week out, and it could well top the *New York Times* best-seller list.

NR will give the book a formal review in due course. The only parts that actually make one grind one's teeth are the lead sentences of some of the chapters. "Some of the best theologians I have ever met were five-year-olds." Michael Lerner? Intellectually, it uses the rhetorical strategy of identifying the family with the state. So Mario Cuomo compared America to a family's wagon train; so Colin Powell last fall opined that Americans should discuss the tough issues, such as racism or the O.J. verdict, like a family. Conservatives unwittingly helped bait this trap by insufficiently precise talk about family values.

The woman at the head of the line in New York was wrong. Mrs. Clinton *does* want to appear to be a "goody two shoes." Is the appearance real? Though I hear the rustle of John Fund, and Bob Tyrrell, and other keepers of the tally of her iniquities, coiling to strike, I believe the answer is "yes." It must never be for-

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR *senior editor, is the author of* Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington, *due out soon from The Free Press.*

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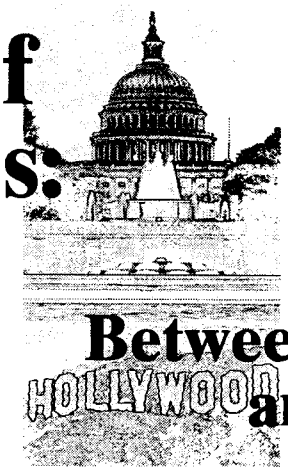

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gotten that Hillary Clinton was raised a Methodist. In one chapter of *It Takes a Village*, she recalls her mother encouraging her, "along with other children in my church youth group," to baby-sit for Mexican migrant workers. The Social Gospel was first preached by Walter Rauschenbusch, a turn-of-the-century Methodist minister, and it lingers today. This is very different from the emotive Baptist sensibility of Bill Clinton, which allows him to party with party girls *and be forgiven*. It makes politics a religious vocation for Mrs. Clinton. It also empowers her to cut corners with a good conscience, because it is all being done in a good cause.

After the book tour, there remains Nemesis. Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R., N.C.) has talked about bringing the First Lady before the Senate Whitewater Committee. That won't happen soon. "We're not playing b.s. politics here," one staffer earnestly assured me. More credibly, he said, "This is an investigation." Mrs. Clinton's Rose Law Firm billing records, which showed the work she had done for Madison S&L, turned up in a third-floor room of the White House. The committee intends to go through Secret Service logs and the White House guest list and depose "every single person" who had been there. Only when they're ready will they call Mrs. Clinton. "If she had been smart, she would have volunteered to come up here a month ago. She would've kicked our butts." The book tour buys Hillary Clinton time. But time may now be working against her. □

Northern Light

DAVID FRUM

Luba Kolomytseva

TORONTO

IT'S a grand thing to have a parliamentary majority behind you. Not since Mrs. Thatcher's first term has any conservative leader moved quite so far, so fast as the new premier of Ontario, Mike Harris. Given the magnitude of his achievement in the seven months since his election, if Harris continues in this vein he will rank as one of the outstanding political leaders of the 1990s.

Since July, his government has announced reforms that will cut Ontario's $55-billion budget by $8 billion over the next three years. Because $9 billion of the budget goes for interest on Ontario's debt, the Harris cuts represent a reduction of more than 17 per cent in spending on government programs. Not cuts from a "baseline"—real cuts, including a 22 per cent cut in Ontario's astonishingly generous welfare rates.

More cuts will be unveiled when the government brings down its first complete budget, probably in mid March. And despite the pleadings and moanings of the media and elite opinion generally, the first tranche of a 30 per cent cut in income-tax rates will be announced at the same time.

Nor is the Harris government confining itself to fiscal issues. Ontario's invasive affirmative-action law has been scrapped; its pro-union labor law, repealed. The last government's petty left-wing initiatives—photo radar, compulsory bicycle helmets, higher fees for midwives than for obstetricians, a ban on the incineration of garbage—are one by one being junked. The ban on private for-profit health clinics will soon be lifted. School-choice plans are being designed. The government's electric monopoly is slated for privatization. Rent controls will be dismantled.

The result? Despite some slippage in the polls recently, Harris remains more popular today than when he was elected.

In many ways, the premier of Ontario (which contains one-third of Canada's people and 40 per cent of its wealth) has more power than the prime minister of the country. Over the past decade, this power has been appallingly abused. Ontario's past two premiers—first the Liberal David Peterson and then the socialist Bob Rae—embarked on a wild spending and regulatory spree. Provincial spending soared from $26 billion to $55 billion.

Taxes rose nearly as rapidly. By 1995, an Ontarian earning as little as U.S. $50,000 faced a marginal tax rate of more than 50 per cent, plus a combined federal–provincial sales tax of 15 per cent, plus some of the highest property taxes in North America. Booze, cigarettes, and gasoline all cost dramatically more than they did even in Mario Cuomo's New York. It wasn't enough. Ontario's deficit exceeded $10 billion by the time the socialists got the boot.

Where did the money go? Ontario was not exactly a frugal jurisdiction in 1985, but over the next ten years the province raised welfare benefits to the point where, by some estimates, a working family would need to earn about $25,000 a year to take home as much as a welfare family gets. As a result, there were nearly half again as many people on welfare in 1989, at the end of a six-year economic boom, as in 1982, at the trough of a severe recession. Today, 1.3 million Ontarians, more than 10 per cent of the population, depend on welfare.

When the Ontario Conservatives chose Mike Harris as their leader in 1990, this endless drift to the left seemed inevitable. Who, after all, would stop it? The Conservatives, Ontario's governing party in the 42 years before 1985, had traditionally adhered to the same blandly left-of-center consensus that the other political parties did. Almost uniquely, Harris—a big, portly man with a relaxed, suburban style—sensed a political opportunity.

In 1990 Ontario plunged into its worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, from which it is still recovering. There are fewer people at work in the province today than there were seven years ago; housing prices are off by as much as one-third. The average income still has not climbed back to pre-slump levels; the average after-tax income, adjusted for inflation, is lower than it was in 1973.

Harris was plunged into an election immediately after winning his party's

Mr. Frum is a senior fellow of the Manhattan Institute and the author of Dead Right *(New Republic Books).*

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leadership in 1990. He campaigned on a "no new taxes" pledge—and was clobbered. Federal Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had just introduced a new goods and services tax, and polls found the Conservatives to be the least credible of Canada's parties on taxes.

So Harris took a gamble unprecedented in the annals of Canada's timid politics. He and his young advisors drafted a plan for a "Common Sense Revolution," with a 30 per cent tax cut and a 20 per cent spending cut at its heart. They published the plan in 1994, a year before the next election, and distributed hundreds of thousands of copies.

Experts scoffed. And for a while the experts seemed right. The Liberals, under a bland, matronly leader, sat comfortably at 50 per cent in the polls for more than a year before the June 1995 election. Then, in the crucial three-way leaders' debate just two weeks before the election, the Liberal leader scolded Harris for the irresponsibility of his tax-cut promise.

At that point something clicked. Taxes; welfare; weak leadership; racial quotas—the whole farrago of Canadian liberalism—it was all suddenly too much. Harris began the 1995 campaign 22 points behind in the polls; he ended with the biggest electoral victory won by any Conservative since 1961.

So far, he has kept every promise he has made. And he has done something else too; this deceptively unintellectual-seeming man has transformed the Canadian intellectual climate. An entire generation of old-style pundits has been discredited at a blow; a new crop of free-market, social-conservative intellectuals is being listened to with attention.

Nor is this just a media phenomenon. A giant year-end poll conducted by a major magazine and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation asked, "What is the best way to make Canada more prosperous?" By a margin of nearly 2 to 1, Canadians replied, "Cut government spending and get money back into the hands of taxpayers."

Are there lessons here from which U.S. conservatives might profit? Three in particular stand out.

1. Taxes remain a powerful issue—but only for politicians who have developed credibility on the issue. Harris's tax message was dismissed in 1990. In 1995, after two years of unflinching commitment by Harris to his 30 per cent promise, it was accepted. Are you listening, Bob Dole?

2. Honesty pays. The stunning sound you hear in Toronto is the utter silence of once-mighty interest groups as Harris forces them to disgorge the public money they have gobbled up. Because Harris explained in so much detail what he would do, his election did not merely defeat the interests; it demoralized them.

3. Don't neglect the quota issue. Harris's original 1994 manifesto did not mention quotas, which had only just gone into effect. But during the door-to-door campaigning that still swings Canadian elections, his canvassers were stunned by the outrage expressed against the new quota law by Ontarians who had overwhelmingly favored every previous anti-discrimination law. The two parties that favored quotas found that their accusations of "unfairness" bounced off the one party willing to champion equality before the law.

To be fair, one reason Harris has been able to achieve so much so quickly was that Ontario was so grossly over-governed. But his accomplishments are immense all the same. And his lessons remain uncopyrighted. □

Belarus in Winter

RADEK SIKORSKI

MINSK

SCIENTISTS have recently established the theoretical possibility of time travel, and you don't have to be an astrophysicist to know that they are right. A slow train from Warsaw to Minsk, the capital of Belarus, will do. You board in bustling, neo-capitalist Warsaw in the mid 1990s and you disembark in Brezhnev's Soviet Union in the mid 1970s. Comrade Lenin still beckons from statues, a bronze Felix Dzerzhinsky still faces the KGB headquarters, red stars still adorn the caps of militiamen and soldiers. Switch on the television, and Communist Party hacks will harangue you for hours. For those who miss the good old days of the Cold War, this is the perfect destination for a nostalgia tour.

In Belarus the dream of Soviet social engineers, the breeding of Soviet Man, succeeded. Soviet Man was supposed to be hard-working, ahistorical, fiercely devoted to the class struggle, and, whatever his nationality, Russian-speaking. I encountered one specimen on a collective farm outside of Minsk. His face was unshaven and tired of toil and vodka. Beneath his flat forehead, characteristic of the species, his eyes were dull and apprehensive. "Will you vote in the parliamentary elections?" I asked.

"Of course," he replied emphatically. "You have to support authority."

I caught sight of another the following day, coming out of a voting station. He was middle-aged, in a fake fur black coat. "How did you vote?" I enquired.

"For the Communists, naturally."

"Why?"

"Because the Communists will take all those democrats in hand and bring back order," he thundered. "Without order, there is no prosperity, and without prosperity, there is no culture." Soviet Man is far from extinct.

In fact, the most Soviet of Belarus's Soviet Men is the president himself, Alexander Lukashenko, a former collective-farm manager. His public persona is that of a mad peasant crossed with Colonel Qaddafi: ranting, unpredictable, self-contradictory. He had recently issued a decree stating that Soviet-era history textbooks should be brought back into use in schools. Belarusian children would no longer have their minds poisoned with such slanders as the history of the purges, or the 1930s man-made famine, and could instead exult in the miracles of five-year plans. When it transpired that the old textbooks had been trashed and the children would be getting a glimpse of the truth for a little longer, Lukashenko denied ever signing such an order.

Lukashenko's oft-repeated ambition is to consign the country's four-year-old independence to oblivion. His big idea has been to unite his country with Russia. The ostensible reason is that the country has few natural resources, so it might be advantageous to acquire raw materials and energy at subsidized, internal Russian prices. The real agenda is that in such a neo–Soviet Union, it

Mr. Sikorski is NR*'s roving correspondent. He observed the Belorusian parliamentary elections as a guest of the British Helsinki Human Rights Group.*

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THE MOST DANGEROUS DRUG IN AMERICA IS SILENCE

Washington's drug policy has been one of the most expensive failures in American history. In 1996, we will spend over 30 billion tax dollars and waste the lives of countless innocent bystanders—many of them children. Attempting to enforce prohibition has made the United States the leading jailer in the Western world.

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would make good PR sense to appoint a non-Russian president, so as to deflect charges of Russian imperialism. Who better than a man who paid his dues with his own country's independence? Unfortunately, Lukashenko's courtship of Moscow has so far been unrequited. Even Vladimir Zhirinovsky, not exactly an opponent of Soviet restoration, has dismissed him as "a goatherd."

Much as in the European Community, a customs union with Russia was to lead to a currency union, but, again, Moscow balked. Belarus is even poorer than Russia, and its market reforms have barely started. A currency union would have amounted to a never-ending Russian subsidy to a bankrupt enterprise. After much soul-searching, Russia refused to pay the price. This decision, or rather lack of it, may prove to be momentous. If it means that the Russian establishment has at long last learned to count money, and is no longer willing to sacrifice Russia's prospects for the sake of imperial illusions, then Russia's neighbors should not be the only ones to rejoice.

Meanwhile, the Belarusian economy is in free fall: most enterprises are working a curtailed week; the backlog of unpaid wages fluctuates between three and six months; the average pension suffices for little more than bread and salt; hard-currency reserves are running out. Reformist governments in Central Europe may have suffered the pain of economic adjustment, but those countries have now been rewarded with growth. Belarus has yet to find out the price of not carrying out reform. When the inevitable day of reckoning arrives for Belarus the recession that usually accompanies structural adjustment will begin from a much lower base.

For the moment, Lukashenko's control still holds, helped by the results of the elections I observed. They were not rigged, not exactly. It is just that the spending limit on the campaign was $50 per candidate, not enough even to photocopy leaflets with one's manifesto to hand to each voter in the constituency. Opposition candidates were virtually barred from the mass media, which remain largely government-owned. As for the "independent" candidates, on closer inspection many proved to be representatives of the president's own power structures. In the military garrison which I visited as an observer, where 100 per cent of registered voters had already gone to the polls by 2 P.M., the candidate turned out to be, quite by accident, a colonel from the divisional staff. I was not surprised that the final count gave no seats to the opposition Belarusian National Front.

But pushing the opposition out of the moderating ambience of parliament, like banning historic national symbols, may prove to be a mistake in the long run. The Belarusian economy is already so bad that even the official, Soviet-era trade unions, which had for years been perfectly happy to act as transmission belts from the Party to the masses, are beginning to get fidgety. They have recently forced the government to increase the minimum wage and promise to pay salaries more promptly. Since the government is unlikely to be able to fulfill its promises, their demands will no doubt escalate.

Does all this mean that the West should write Belarus off as a basket case?

Bonnie T. Gardner

Quite the contrary. First, while Belarusian national identity may have been badly mauled by decades of Russification and Sovietization, it is reviving. Belarusian may not be widely spoken in the streets, but hundreds of thousands of people pay a premium to read non-government Belarusian newspapers, which have to be printed in Lithuania and arrive late. My fellow Western observers were struck by how different Belarusians were from most Russians they had met. Politeness seems to be a national characteristic. And with the Belarusian Orthodox Church now also developing a mind of its own, the building blocks of national identity are coming into place.

Second, independent Belarus is a good litmus test of Russian behavior and a potential buffer, if Russia were to go nasty. The key country in the region is of course Ukraine, with its 50 million people (Belarus has 10 million) and a serious army. Nevertheless, whoever wanted to start rebuilding the empire would first have to consolidate control over Minsk. Resistance in Belarus could scotch the project before more harm was done.

Third, strengthening Belarusian independence would be good for reformers, both in Belarus, and in Russia. Russia does not need another millstone around its neck, and Belarus, if made to swim on its own, might well begin to make it. If Belarus's government ceased to pursue suicidal policies, the country might at last begin to take advantage of its position astride highways and pipelines between Russia and the West.

The West should adopt a dual strategy. Despite Moscow's rebuffs, President Lukashenko still seems hell-bent on acting out the role of the last of the Soviets, but there are already whispers of dissatisfaction in his entourage. The customs union with Russia, for example, far from helping Belarus, stokes up inflation. Contrary to expectations, Russian brother Slavs charge Belarus almost the full world price for oil and energy. Given Lukashenko's unpredictability, I would not put it past him to appear one day on national television and declare that sidling up to Russia had been an elaborate hoax, that he has in fact been a fierce Belarusian patriot all along, and that Belarusian independence is a sacred cause after all. The West should encourage such a tendency by periodically reaffirming that once reform begins, the usual credits and trade concessions will flow.

At the same time, we must not desert Belarus's patriots and democrats, men like Zenon Pozniak (who publicized the grave of 300,000 of Communism's victims at Kurpaty) or Adam Maldhis (who helped to preserve the Belarusian language even at the height of Khrushchev's persecutions). The resurgence of former Communists all over Central and Eastern Europe makes them look hopeless, but Sakharov, Walesa, and Havel all once seemed more so. Justice and truth are not on the side of the old Party hacks, however much money they now spend on laundering themselves into respectability. Neither is biology. Eventually, a new generation will come to rule Belarus. You can already see it in the few Minsk nightclubs. Like the Nineties generation the world over, it is English-speaking and Internet-connected, and would rather talk business than politics. It will not accept the likes of Lukashenko forever. □

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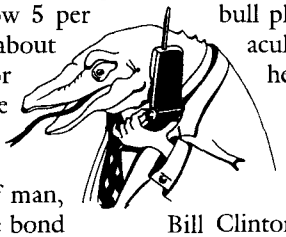
GEKKO

IF YOU buy the idea of a soft landing and the rational management of the business cycle by the White House economic staff, then the long bond should be heading below 5 per cent and gold tottering and about to fall to $300 an ounce or less. But if, like me, you place more credit in the notion of original sin than in the notion of the perfectibility of man, then you should be selling the bond with both hands—don't wait for it to get back to the 5¾ per cent level of October 1993—and buying gold even as it rallies.



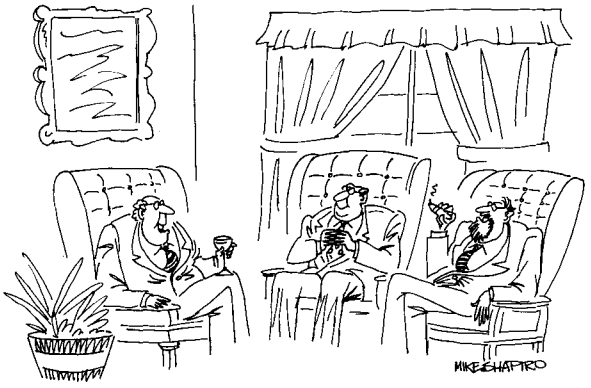
Yes, we are going to have a very soft first half of 1996. I am inclined to think we'll see negative growth, as the economists say. "My worry," says Susan Sterne, "is that any shock will make the economy even worse than we anticipate." Susan, a/k/a Economic Analysis of Greenwich, knows the American consumer better than anyone else, and she doesn't like what she sees in income and debt trends. "The household survey of employment is more reliable at calling turns in the economy than the payroll number the bond market follows, and the household number is showing a sharp decline. The payroll number will be revised downward. In fact lots of growth and income numbers are being revised downward."

Where Susan and I part company is on our bond-market call. She sees a 5 per cent long bond by the end of the year, down from around 6 per cent now, though "it'll be a rocky road to 5 per cent." I'm more inclined to see a multi-year bear market for bonds. The charts seem to have traced out an ominous double top, and whatever they say in Washington, I just don't think the country's gotten religion on government spending. It will—but the reconstruction of the nation's finances is not a smooth, linear process.

Mr. Gold agrees with me, or at least he did as this column was going to press, with the price holding above $400. Now, as loyal readers know, there are good supply–demand arguments for why gold should be finally moving into its long-term bull phase, but I see this as miraculously coinciding with the heating up of class-war talk.

Todd Buchholz, a former Bush White House economist who runs the G7 Daily Briefing, hears that Bill Clinton has been quite prepared to sell out his fellow class-warriors in the budget talks. "He'd be sitting in the meetings with the Republican congressional leadership, obviously not happy that there wasn't any consensus. He'd open his mouth to say something conciliatory. Then Gore or Gephardt or Daschle would kick him or glare at him until he went quiet again."

But back to the bond—what gets the selloff going in earnest? Todd's vote goes to a reversal of the Japanese/T-Bond carry trade. On this theory, all the people who have been borrowing yen short term at sub-1-per-cent rates and then converting the process to buy 6 per cent Treasury bonds unwind the trade at the first sign of tightening by the Bank of Japan. Maybe. I think it's more likely that the Fed and the European central banks panic when they see a recessionary second quarter developing and open up the money fire hydrants. That will lead to a steepening in the yield curve, as short rates plunge, and then to a prolonged decline in bond prices.



"I've always let a smile and twenty million bucks be my umbrella."

And gold? Sure, it could correct from here—the runup has come pretty fast. But there's a big short position out there, and it's going to be awfully hard to cover it. That's the technical argument. The theological argument, which I prefer, is that the price of the yellow metal is proxy for the incidence of original sin, and this is an election year.

■ We should be grateful though. We could have been incarnated as Russians, whose lot gets worse by the day. There was an alarmist cover story in *New York* magazine recently about the huge quantities of $100 bills that the Federal Reserve and Republic National Bank ship over to Moscow every week. *New York* was terribly distressed that many of these bills wind up in the hands of the Russian mafia.

Personally, I don't see the problem. There's probably more than $20 or $30 billion in U.S. currency circulating in Russia, which represents a free loan from the people of Russia to the U.S. Government. Directly or indirectly, we get actual goods from the Russians, such as oil and palladium, and give them colored pieces of paper in return. *New York* has determined that much of the Russian banking system is run by the mafia, or mafias. They are scum, it's true, but how can you distinguish their scumminess from that of the "legitimate" authorities, such as Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin? You can't.

The real concern isn't that this scam of ours is going on, but that it might end some day. There is some degree of panic in Russia at the prospect of the new $100 bill, which has many of the locals worried that we will repudiate the old bills. "I'm only carrying around fifties these days," says a friend in Moscow. "There are already counterfeits of the new hundreds circulating here, before they've actually been introduced. How do you think they pulled off that one?" In the meantime, for all the moaning among the Russia policy freaks in the West about Yeltsin's firing of Anatoly Chubais, the most publicized economic "reformer" in his cabinet, most Russians couldn't care less. "He did an incredibly bad job of handling privatization," says my Moscow source. Chubais has a parachute, though—he's said to be on his way to Menatep, known as the KGB bank.

—JOHN DIZARD

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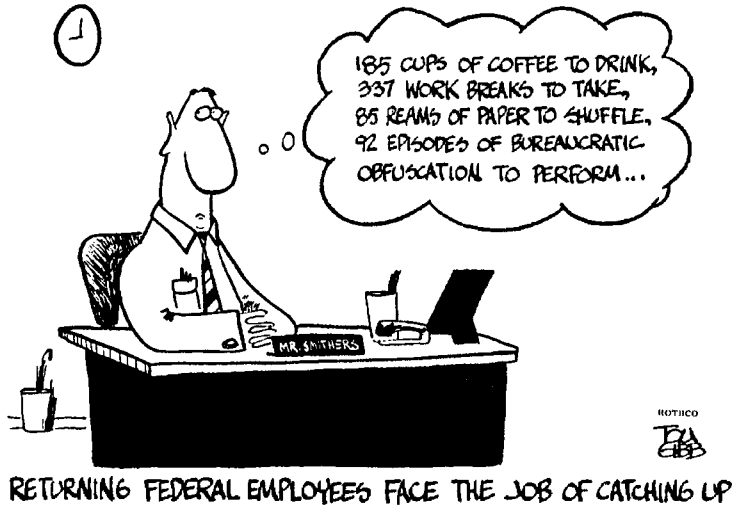
help


185 CUPS OF COFFEE TO DRINK,
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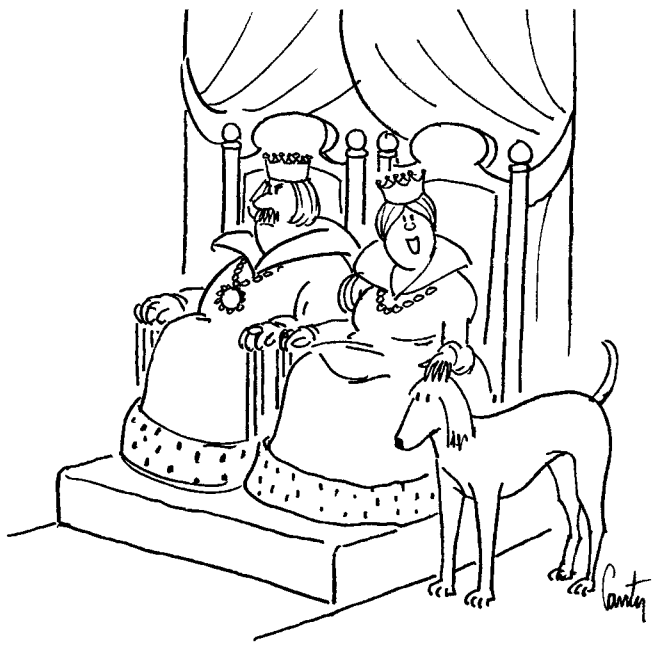
RETURNING FEDERAL EMPLOYEES FACE THE JOB OF CATCHING UP

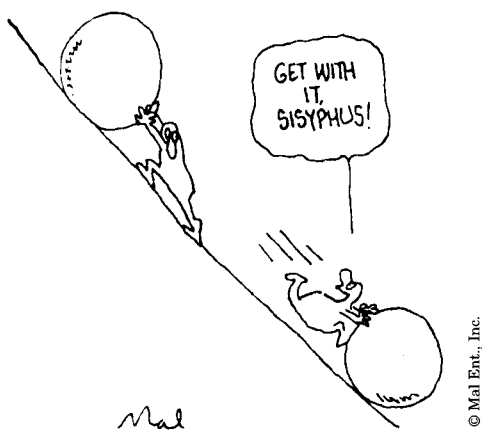


"Sit, King."

The Unnerving General Lebed

He's like an Ike without the smile.
The Commies eye the guy with guile.
He's death on Yeltsin and reform
And rumbles like a thunderstorm
And . . . No, Virginia, neither Bill
Nor Warren has romanced his twill,
So with their chips on Boris, he's
Got the aforesaid knocking knees.

W. H. VON DREELE



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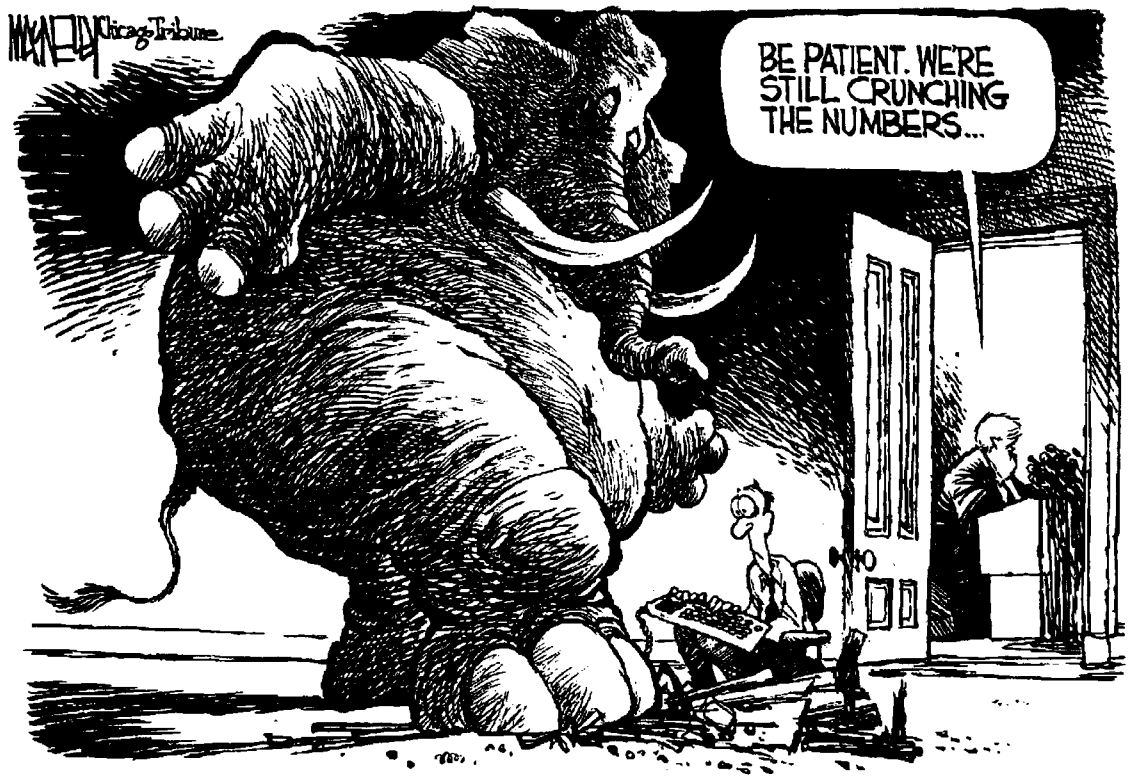

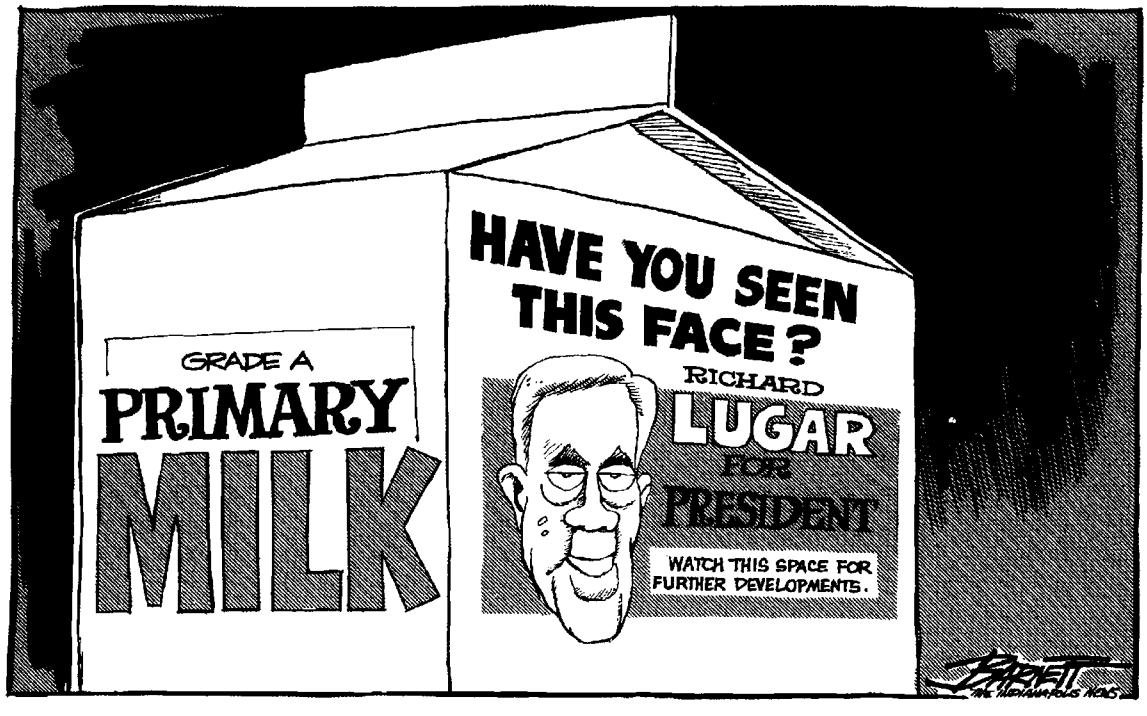

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THE WAR ON DRUGS IS LOST

NATIONAL REVIEW has attempted during its tenure as, so to speak, keeper of the conservative tablets to analyze public problems and to recommend intelligent thought. The magazine has acknowledged a variety of positions by right-minded thinkers and analysts who sometimes reach conflicting conclusions about public policy. As recently as on the question of troops to Bosnia, there was dissent within the family from our corporate conclusion that we'd be best off staying home.

For many years we have published analyses of the drug problem. An important and frequently cited essay by Professor Michael Gazzaniga (Feb. 5, 1990) brought a scientist's discipline into the picture, shedding light on matters vital to an understanding of the drug question. He wrote, for instance, about different rates of addiction, and about ambient pressures that bear on addiction. Elsewhere, Professor James Q. Wilson, now of UCLA, has written eloquently in defense of the drug war. Milton Friedman from the beginning said it would not work, and would do damage.

We have found Dr. Gazzaniga and others who have written on the subject persuasive in arguing that the weight of the evidence is against the current attempt to prohibit drugs. But NATIONAL REVIEW has not, until now, opined formally on the subject. We do so at this point. To put off a declarative judgment would be morally and intellectually weak-kneed.

Things being as they are, and people as they are, there is no way to prevent somebody, somewhere, from concluding that "NATIONAL REVIEW favors drugs." We don't; we deplore their use; we urge the stiffest feasible sentences against anyone convicted of selling a drug to a minor. But that said, it is our judgment that the war on drugs has failed, that it is diverting intelligent energy away from how to deal with the problem of addiction, that it is wasting our resources, and that it is encouraging civil, judicial, and penal procedures associated with police states. We all agree on movement toward legalization, even though we may differ on just how far.

We are joined in our judgment by Ethan A. Nadelmann, a scholar and researcher; Kurt Schmoke, a mayor and former prosecutor; Joseph D. McNamara, a former police chief; Robert W. Sweet, a federal judge and former prosecutor; Thomas Szasz, a psychiatrist; and Steven B. Duke, a law professor. Each has his own emphases, as one might expect. All agree that the celebrated war has failed, and that it is time to go home, and to mobilize fresh thought on the drug problem in the context of a free society. This symposium is our contribution to such thought.

—THE EDITORS

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1. Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Last summer WFB was asked by the New York Bar Association to make a statement to the panel of lawyers considering the drug question. He made the following statement:

WE ARE speaking of a plague that consumes an estimated $75 billion per year of public money, exacts an estimated $70 billion a year from consumers, is responsible for nearly 50 per cent of the million Americans who are today in jail, occupies an estimated 50 per cent of the trial time of our judiciary, and takes the time of 400,000 policemen—yet a plague for which no cure is at hand, nor in prospect.

Perhaps you, ladies and gentlemen of the Bar, will understand it if I chronicle my own itinerary on the subject of drugs and public policy. When I ran for mayor of New York, the political race was jocular, but the thought given to municipal problems was entirely serious, and in my paper on drugs and in my post-election book I advocated their continued embargo, but on unusual grounds. I had read—and I think the evidence continues to affirm it—that drug-taking is a gregarious activity. What this means, I said, is that an addict is in pursuit of company and therefore attempts to entice others to share with him his habit. Under the circumstances, I said, it can reasonably be held that drug-taking is a contagious disease and, accordingly, subject to the conventional restrictions employed to shield the innocent from Typhoid Mary. Some sport was made of my position by libertarians, including Professor Milton Friedman, who asked whether the police might legitimately be summoned if it were established that keeping company with me was a contagious activity.

I recall all of this in search of philosophical perspective. Back in 1965 I sought to pay conventional deference to libertarian presumptions against outlawing any activity potentially harmful only to the person who engages in that activity. I cited John Stuart Mill and, while at it, opined that there was no warrant for requiring motorcyclists to wear a helmet. I was seeking, and I thought I had found, a reason to override the presumption against intercession by the state.

About ten years later, I deferred to a different allegiance, this one not the presumptive opposition to state intervention, but a different order of priorities. A conservative should evaluate the practicality of a legal constriction, as for instance in those states whose statute books continue to outlaw sodomy, which interdiction is unenforceable, making the law nothing more than print-on-paper. I came to the conclusion that the so-called war against drugs was not working, that it would not work absent a change in the structure of the civil rights to which we are accustomed and to which we cling as a valuable part of our patrimony. And that therefore if that war

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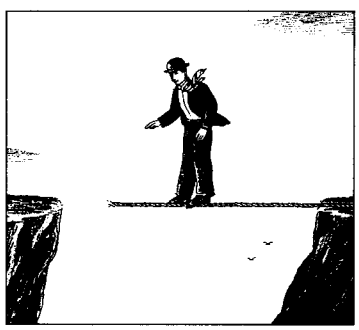
against drugs is not working, we should look into what effects the war has, a canvass of the casualties consequent on its failure to work. That consideration encouraged me to weigh utilitarian principles: the Benthamite calculus of pain and pleasure introduced by the illegalization of drugs.

A YEAR or so ago I thought to calculate a ratio, however roughly arrived at, toward the elaboration of which I would need to place a dollar figure on deprivations that do not lend themselves to quantification. Yet the law, lacking any other recourse, every day countenances such quantifications, as when asking a jury to put a dollar figure on the damage done by the loss of a plaintiff's right arm, amputated by defective machinery at the factory. My enterprise became allegorical in character—I couldn't do the arithmetic—but the model, I think, proves useful in sharpening perspectives.

Professor Steven Duke of Yale Law School, in his valuable book, *America's Longest War: Rethinking Our Tragic Crusade against Drugs*, and scholarly essay, "Drug Prohibition: An Unnatural Disaster," reminds us that it isn't the use of illegal drugs that we have any business complaining about, it is the abuse of such drugs. It is acknowledged that tens of millions of Americans (I have seen the figure 85 million) have at one time or another consumed, or exposed themselves to, an illegal drug. But the estimate authorized by the federal agency charged with such explorations is that there are not more than 1 million regular cocaine users, defined as those who have used the drug at least once in the preceding week. There are (again, an informed estimate) 5 million Americans who regularly use marijuana; and again, an estimated 70 million who once upon a time, or even twice upon a time, inhaled marijuana. From the above we reasonably deduce that Americans who abuse a drug, here defined as Americans who become addicted to it or even habituated to it, are a very small percentage of those who have experimented with a drug, or who continue to use a drug without any observable distraction in their lives or careers. About such users one might say that they are the equivalent of those Americans who drink liquor but do not become alcoholics, or those Americans who smoke cigarettes but do not suffer a shortened lifespan as a result.



Curiosity naturally flows to ask, next, How many users of illegal drugs in fact die from the use of them? The answer is complicated in part because marijuana finds itself lumped together with cocaine and heroin, and nobody has ever been found dead from marijuana. The question of deaths from cocaine is complicated by the factor of impurity. It would not be useful to draw any conclusions about alcohol consumption, for instance, by observing that, in 1931, one thousand Americans died from alcohol consumption if it happened that half of those deaths, or more than half, were the result of drinking alcohol with toxic ingredients extrinsic to the drug as conventionally used. When alcohol was illegal, the consumer could never know whether he had been given relatively harmless alcohol to drink—such alcoholic beverages as we find today in the liquor store—or whether the bootlegger had come up with paralyzing rotgut. By the same token, purchasers of illegal cocaine and heroin cannot know whether they are consuming a drug that would qualify for regulated consumption after clinical analysis.

We do know this, that more people die every year as a result of the war against drugs than die from what we call, generically, overdosing.

But we do know this, and I approach the nexus of my inquiry, which is that more people die every year as a result of the war against drugs than die from what we call, generically, overdosing. These fatalities include, perhaps most prominently, drug merchants who compete for commercial territory, but include also people who are robbed and killed by those desperate for money to buy the drug to which they have become addicted.

This is perhaps the moment to note that the pharmaceutical cost of cocaine and heroin is approximately 2 per cent of the street price of those drugs. Since a cocaine addict can spend as much as $1,000 per week to sustain his habit, he would need to come up with that $1,000. The approximate fencing cost of stolen goods is 80 per cent, so that to come up with $1,000 can require stealing $5,000 worth of jewels, cars, whatever. We can see that at free-market rates, $20 per week would provide the addict with the cocaine which, in this wartime drug situation, requires of him $1,000.

My mind turned, then, to auxiliary expenses—auxiliary pains, if you wish. The crime rate, whatever one made of its modest curtsy last year toward diminution, continues its secular rise. Serious crime is 480 per cent higher than in 1965. The correlation is not absolute, but it is suggestive: crime is reduced by the number of available enforcers of law and order, namely policemen. The heralded new crime legislation, passed last year and acclaimed by President Clinton, provides for 100,000 extra policemen, even if only for a limited amount of time. But 400,000 policemen would be freed to pursue criminals engaged in activity other than the sale and distribution of drugs if such sale and distribution, at a price at which there was no profit, were to be done by, say, a federal drugstore.

So then we attempt to put a value on the goods stolen by addicts. The figure arrived at by Professor Duke is $10 billion. But we need to add to this pain of stolen property, surely, the extra-material pain suffered by victims of robbers. If someone breaks into your house at night, perhaps holding you at gunpoint while taking your money and your jewelry and whatever, it is reasonable to assign a higher "cost" to the episode than the commercial value of the stolen money and jewelry. If we were modest, we might reasonably, however arbitrarily, put at $1,000 the

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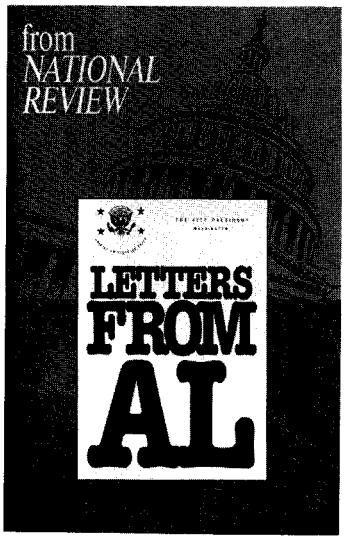
"value" of the victim's pain. But then the hurt, the psychological trauma, might be evaluated by a jury at ten times, or one hundred times, that sum.

But we must consider other factors, not readily quantifiable, but no less tangible. Fifty years ago, to walk at night across Central Park was no more adventurous than to walk down Fifth Avenue. But walking across the park is no longer done, save by the kind of people who climb the Matterhorn. Is it fair to put a value on a lost amenity? If the Metropolitan Museum were to close, mightn't we, without fear of distortion, judge that we had been deprived of something valuable? What value might we assign to confidence that, at night, one can sleep without fear of intrusion by criminals seeking money or goods exchangeable for drugs?

Pursuing utilitarian analysis, we ask: What are the relative costs, on the one hand, of medical and psychological treatment for addicts and, on the other, incarceration for drug offenses? It transpires that treatment is seven times more cost-effective. By this is meant that one dollar spent on the treatment of an addict reduces the probability of continued addiction seven times more than one dollar spent on incarceration. Looked at another way: Treatment is not now available for almost half of those who would benefit from it. Yet we are willing to build more and more jails in which to isolate drug users even though at one-seventh the cost of building and maintaining jail space and pursuing, detaining, and prosecuting the drug user, we could subsidize commensurately effective medical care and psychological treatment.

I HAVE spared you, even as I spared myself, an arithmetical consummation of my inquiry, but the data here cited instruct us that the cost of the drug war is many times more painful, in all its manifestations, than would be the licensing of drugs combined with intensive education of non-users and intensive education designed to warn those who experiment with drugs. We have seen a substantial reduction in the use of tobacco over the last thirty years, and this is not because tobacco became illegal but because a sentient community began, in substantial numbers, to apprehend the high cost of tobacco to human health, even as, we can assume, a growing number of Americans desist from practicing unsafe sex and using polluted needles in this age of AIDS. If 80 million Americans can experiment with drugs and resist addiction using information publicly available, we can reasonably hope that approximately the same number would resist the temptation to purchase such drugs even if they were available at a federal drugstore at the mere cost of production.

And added to the above is the point of civil justice. Those who suffer from the abuse of drugs have themselves to blame for it. This does not mean that society is absolved from active concern for their plight. It does mean that their plight is subordinate to the plight of those citizens who do not experiment with drugs but



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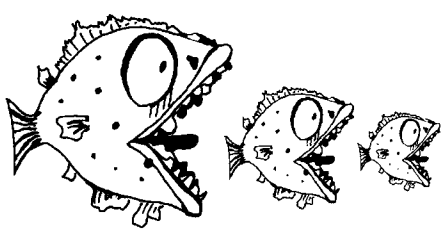
whose life, liberty, and property are substantially affected by the illegalization of the drugs sought after by the minority.

I have not spoken of the cost to our society of the astonishing legal weapons available now to policemen and prosecutors; of the penalty of forfeiture of one's home and property for violation of laws which, though designed to advance the war against drugs, could legally be used—I am told by learned counsel—as penalties for the neglect of one's pets. I leave it at this, that it is outrageous to live in a society whose laws tolerate sending young people to life in prison because they grew, or distributed, a dozen ounces of marijuana. I would hope that the good offices of your vital profession would mobilize at least to protest such excesses of wartime zeal, the legal equivalent of a My Lai massacre. And perhaps proceed to recommend the legalization of the sale of most drugs, except to minors. □

2. Ethan A. Nadelmann

We turned to Mr. Nadelmann to pursue the inquiry. Formerly in the Political Science Department at Princeton, he is now the director of the Lindesmith Center, a drug-policy research institute in New York City. He is the author of Cops across Borders: The Internationalization of U.S. Criminal Law Enforcement.

THE essayists assembled here do not agree exactly on which aspect of the war on drugs is most disgraceful, or on which alternative to our current policies is most desirable, but we do agree, as Mr. Buckley expected, on the following: The "war on drugs" has failed to accomplish its stated objectives, and it cannot succeed so long as we remain a free society, bound by our Constitution. Our prohibitionist approach to drug control is responsible for most of the ills commonly associated with America's "drug problem." And some measure of legal availability and regulation is essential if we are to reduce significantly the negative consequences of both drug use and our drug-control policies.



Proponents of the war on drugs focus on one apparent success: The substantial decline during the 1980s in the number of Americans who consumed marijuana and cocaine. Yet that decline began well before the Federal Government intensified its "war on drugs" in 1986, and it succeeded principally in reducing illicit drug use among middle-class Americans, who were least likely to develop drug-related problems.

Far more significant were the dramatic increases in drug- and prohibition-related disease, death, and crime. Crack cocaine—as much a creature of prohibition as 180-proof moonshine during alcohol prohibition—became the drug of choice in most inner cities. AIDS spread rapidly among injecting drug addicts, their lovers, and their children, while government policies restricted the availability of clean syringes that might have stemmed the epidemic. And prohibition-related violence reached unprecedented levels as a new generation of Al Capones competed for turf, killing not just one another but innocent bystanders, witnesses, and law-enforcement officials.

There are several basic truths about drugs and drug policy which a growing number of Americans have come to acknowledge.

1. Most people can use most drugs without doing much harm to themselves or anyone else, as Mr. Buckley reminds us, citing Professor Duke. Only a tiny percentage of the 70 million Americans who have tried marijuana have gone on to have problems with that or any other drug. The same is true of the tens of millions of Americans who have used cocaine or hallucinogens. Most of those who did have a problem at one time or another don't any more. That a few million Americans have serious problems with illicit drugs today is an issue meriting responsible national attention, but it is no reason to demonize those drugs and the people who use them.

We're unlikely to evolve toward a more effective and humane drug policy unless we begin to change the ways we think about drugs and drug control.

Perspective can be had from what is truly the most pervasive drug scandal in the United States: the epidemic of undertreatment of pain. "Addiction" to (i.e., dependence on) opiates among the terminally ill is the appropriate course of medical treatment. The only reason for the failure to prescribe adequate doses of pain-relieving opiates is the "opiaphobia" that causes doctors to ignore the medical evidence, nurses to turn away from their patients' cries of pain, and some patients themselves to elect to suffer debilitating and demoralizing pain rather than submit to a proper dose of drugs.

The tendency to put anti-drug ideology ahead of compassionate treatment of pain is apparent in another area. Thousands of Americans now smoke marijuana for purely medical reasons: among others, to ease the nausea of chemotherapy; to reduce the pain of multiple sclerosis; to alleviate the symptoms of glaucoma; to improve appetite dangerously reduced from AIDS. They use it as an effective medicine, yet they are technically regarded as criminals, and every year many are jailed. Although more than 75 per cent of Americans believe that marijuana should be available legally for medical purposes, the Federal Government refuses to legalize access or even to sponsor research.

2. Drugs are here to stay. The time has come to abandon the concept of a "drug-free society." We need to focus on learning to live with drugs in such a way that they do the least possible harm. So far as I can ascertain, the societies that have proved most successful in minimizing drug-related harm aren't those that have sought to banish drugs, but those that have figured out how to control and manage drug use through community discipline, including the establishment of powerful social norms. That is precisely the challenge now confronting American society regarding alcohol: How do we live with

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a very powerful and dangerous drug—more powerful and dangerous than many illicit drugs—that, we have learned, cannot be effectively prohibited?

Virtually all Americans have used some psychoactive substance, whether caffeine or nicotine or marijuana. In many cases, the use of cocaine and heroin represents a form of self-medication against physical and emotional pain among people who do not have access to psychotherapy or Prozac. The market in illicit drugs is as great as it is in the inner cities because palliatives for pain and depression are harder to come by and because there are fewer economic opportunities that can compete with the profits of violating prohibition.

3. Prohibition is no way to run a drug policy. We learned that with alcohol during the first third of this century and we're probably wise enough as a society not to try to repeat the mistake with nicotine. Prohibitions for kids make sense. It's reasonable to prohibit drug-related misbehavior that endangers others, such as driving under the influence of alcohol and other drugs, or smoking in enclosed spaces. But whatever its benefits in deterring some Americans from becoming drug abusers, America's indiscriminate drug prohibition is responsible for too much crime, disease, and death to qualify as sensible policy.

4. There is a wide range of choice in drug-policy options between the free-market approach favored by Milton Friedman and Thomas Szasz, and the zero-tolerance approach of William Bennett. These options fall under the concept of harm reduction. That concept holds that drug policies need to focus on *reducing crime*, whether engendered by drugs or by the prohibition of drugs. And it holds that disease and death can be diminished even among people who can't, or won't, stop taking drugs. This pragmatic approach is followed in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Australia, and parts of Germany, Austria, Britain, and a growing number of other countries.

American drug warriors like to denigrate the Dutch, but the fact remains that Dutch drug policy has been dramatically more successful than U.S. drug policy. The average age of heroin addicts in the Netherlands has been increasing for almost a decade; HIV rates among addicts are dramatically lower than in the United States; police don't waste resources on non-disruptive drug users but, rather, focus on major dealers or petty dealers who create public nuisances. The decriminalized cannabis markets are regulated in a quasi-legal fashion far more effective and inexpensive than the U.S. equivalent.

The Swiss have embarked on a national experiment of prescribing heroin to addicts. The two-year-old plan, begun in Zurich, is designed to determine whether they can reduce drug- and prohibition-related crime, disease, and death by making pharmaceutical heroin legally available to addicts at regulated clinics. The results of the experiment have been sufficiently encouraging that it is being extended to over a dozen Swiss cities. Similar experiments are being initiated by the Dutch and Australians. There are no good scientific or ethical reasons not to try a heroin-prescription experiment in the United States.

Our Federal Government puts politics over science by ignoring extensive scientific evidence that sterile syringes can reduce the spread of AIDS. Connecticut permitted needle sales in drugstores in 1992, and the policy resulted in a 40 per cent decrease in needle sharing among injecting drug users, at no cost to taxpayers.

We see similar foolishness when it comes to methadone. Methadone is to street heroin more or less what nicotine chewing-gum and skin patches are to cigarettes. Hundreds of studies, as well as a National Academy of Sciences report last year, have concluded that methadone is more effective than any other treatment in reducing heroin-related crime, disease, and death. In Australia and much of Europe, addicts who want to reduce or quit their heroin use can obtain a prescription for methadone from a GP and fill the prescription at a local pharmacy. In the United States, by contrast, methadone is available only at highly regulated and expensive clinics.

A WARNING of the prohibitionists is that there's no going back once we reverse course and legalize drugs. But what the reforms in Europe and Australia demonstrate is that our choices are not all or nothing. Virtually all the steps described above represent modest and relatively low-risk initiatives to reduce drug and prohibition-related harms *within our current prohibition regime*. At the same time, these steps are helpful in thinking through the consequences of more far-reaching drug-policy reform. You don't need to go for formal legalization to embark on numerous reforms that would yield great dividends. But these run into opiaphobia.

The blame is widespread. Cowardly Presidents, unwilling to assume leadership for reform. A Congress so concerned with appearing tough on crime that it is unwilling to analyze alternative approaches. A drug czar who debases public debate by equating legalization with genocide. A drug enforcement/treatment complex so hooked on government dollars that the anti-drug crusade has become a vested interest.

But perhaps the worst offender is the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration—not so much the agents who risk their lives trying to apprehend major drug traffickers as the ideologically driven bureaucrats who intimidate and persecute doctors for prescribing pain medication in medically appropriate (but legally suspicious) doses, who hobble methadone programs with their overregulation, who acknowledge that law enforcement alone cannot solve the drug problem but then proceed to undermine innovative public-health initiatives.

You don't need to go for formal legalization to embark on numerous reforms that would yield great dividends. But these run into opiaphobia.

I am often baffled by the resistance of conservatives to drug-policy reform, but encouraged by the willingness of many to reassess their views once they have heard the evidence. Conservatives who oppose the expansion of federal power cannot look approvingly on the growth of the fed-

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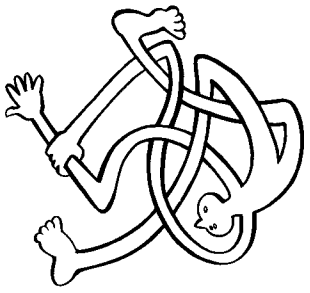
eral drug-enforcement bureaucracy and federal efforts to coerce states into adopting federally formulated drug policies. Those who focus on the victimization of Americans by predatory criminals can hardly support our massive diversion of law-enforcement resources to apprehending and imprisoning nonviolent vice merchants and consumers. Those concerned with overregulation can hardly countenance our current handling of methadone, our refusal to allow over-the-counter sale of sterile syringes, our prohibition of medical marijuana. And conservatives who turn to the Bible for guidance on current affairs can find little justification there for our war on drugs and the people who use and sell them. □



3. Kurt Schmoke

Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore may be the only sitting politician who advocates, if not outright legalization, reforms in that direction. But even if he is lonely, he is not hopeless on the question of democratic political enlightenment. Mr. Schmoke was first elected mayor in 1987. He is a graduate of Yale University and a Rhodes Scholar.

SERIOUS problems require serious minds. That may help explain why William F. Buckley Jr. was one of the first public figures to acknowledge that the war on drugs is a failure. I don't know how Mr. Buckley's early apostasy about the war on drugs was greeted by his conservative colleagues—although it's not hard to guess—but I remember the reaction in 1988 to my own call for a national debate on that war. A leading congressional liberal called me the most dangerous man in America. A national magazine referred to me as "a nice young man who had a bright future." Many of my political supporters encouraged me to drop the subject and stick to potholes.

Potholes are important, but, as Mr. Buckley argued to the New York Bar Association, dropping the subject of the war on drugs means dropping any hope of solving some of America's most difficult social problems. The war on drugs isn't a solution in search of a problem. It's a problem in search of a solution.

How big a problem? Very big. As Mr. Buckley points out, "More people die every year as a result of the war on drugs than die from what we call, generically, overdosing." He is similarly correct in noting that blanket prohibition is a major source of crime: it inflates the price of drugs, inviting new criminals to enter the trade; reduces the number of police officers available to investigate violent crime; fosters adulterated, even poisonous, drugs; and contributes significantly to the transmission of HIV. These are not problems that are merely tangential to the war on drugs. These are problems caused, or made substantially worse, by the war on drugs.

That is why I have long advocated that the war on drugs be fought as a public-health war. This is sometimes called medicalization, or regulated distribution. Under this alternative to the war on drugs, the government would set up a regulatory regime to pull addicts into the public-health system. The government, not criminal traffickers, would control the price, distribution, and purity of addictive substances—which it already does with prescription drugs. This would take most of the profit out of drug trafficking, and it is profits that drive the crime. Addicts would be treated—and if necessary maintained—under medical auspices. Children would find it harder, not easier, to get their hands on drugs. And law enforcement would be able to concentrate on the highest echelons of drug-trafficking enterprises.

I do not specifically endorse the idea of a federal drugstore, particularly if that means selling drugs to people who are not already physically or psychologically addicted. On the other hand, I do support a national commission to study *all* possible alternatives (including legalization) to our failed strategy of blanket prohibition. This commission would be similar to the 1929 Wickersham Commission, which President Hoover set up to study how to enforce alcohol prohibition more strictly. Although Hoover tried to conceal the results, the commission concluded that alcohol prohibition was, in the words of Walter Lippmann, a "helpless failure." I believe that an objective and nonpartisan inquiry would come to the same conclusion about the war on drugs.

I also support Mr. Buckley's idea of applying a "utilitarian" calculus to the war on drugs. Congress is quite enthusiastic about weighing the costs and benefits of health care, welfare, community development, and other domestic programs. It should apply a similar analysis to the war on drugs, a war that is now costing the Federal Government $14 billion a year.

In weighing the costs and benefits, Congress would not have to start from scratch. There have been many studies and experiments, including our needle-exchange program in Baltimore. This program costs $160,000 a year. The cost to the state of Maryland of taking care of just one adult AIDS patient infected through the sharing of a syringe is $102,000 to $120,000. In other words, if just two addicts are protected from HIV through the city's needle exchange, the program will have paid for itself.

But a cost–benefit analysis for the war on drugs would do more than offer a guide to the sensible allocation of federal dollars. It would also make advocating changes in the war on drugs less politically risky for elected officials. Unfortunately, that risk has kept most political leaders in lockstep support of the war on drugs.

I understand their reluctance to call for an end to blanket prohibition, especially since individual mayors and governors cannot, by themselves, end the war on drugs or its devastating effects on their communities. However, I also believe that the political risks of debating and criticizing the war on drugs have been overstated. I have been re-elected twice since 1988. In my most recent election, last year, my opponent specifically attacked my call for a

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new strategy in the war on drugs. She advocated "zero tolerance," which is more of a slogan than a policy, and said she would sign the Atlanta resolution, which supports the status quo. In spite of her distortions of my record on drug policy, I won re-election by a 20-point margin, the widest margin in my political career.

Although I strongly believe that changes in national drug policy must be national in scope, I have nevertheless tried to demonstrate that some reforms can be made on the local level. For example, in 1993 I formed a Mayor's Working Group on Drug Policy Reform, and I have since implemented most of its major recommendations. These recommendations included providing for more community policing; encouraging Baltimore's teaching hospitals to make addiction treatment a larger part of their curriculum; and, most important, developing the needle-exchange program mentioned above.

Needle exchange was my top legislative priority in 1994. We could not begin the program without a change in the state's drug-paraphernalia laws. In the previous two years, lawmakers had been reluctant to go along, in part out of fear that they would be accused of condoning drug use. But in 1994, we were able to convince the legislature that needle exchange would not increase drug use but instead would save lives, and perhaps even reduce crime.

The most politically effective argument in selling needle exchange was that it would slow the spread of AIDS. That is because 70 per cent of new AIDS cases in Baltimore are related to intravenous drug use, and AIDS is now the number-one killer of both young men and young women in Baltimore. (This crisis is not unique to Baltimore, and the problem is especially horrendous for African-Americans. A recent report entitled *Health Emergency: The Spread of Drug-Related AIDS among African-Americans and Latinos*, shows that 73,000 African-Americans have drug-related AIDS or have died from it. Among people who inject drugs, African-Americans are almost 5 times as likely as whites to be diagnosed with AIDS. And for African-Americans, the risk of getting AIDS is 7 times greater than the risk of dying from an overdose.)

I also believe that the political risks of debating and criticizing the war on drugs have been overstated.

I'm proud that Baltimore now has the largest government-run needle exchange program in the country. That program is being thoroughly evaluated by the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and Hygiene. I expect that evaluation to show that needle exchange is saving lives, a claim that the war on drugs has not been able to make for more than eighty years.

Mario Cuomo once made an observation that both liberals and conservatives should feel comfortable endorsing. He said that policymakers must distinguish between ideas

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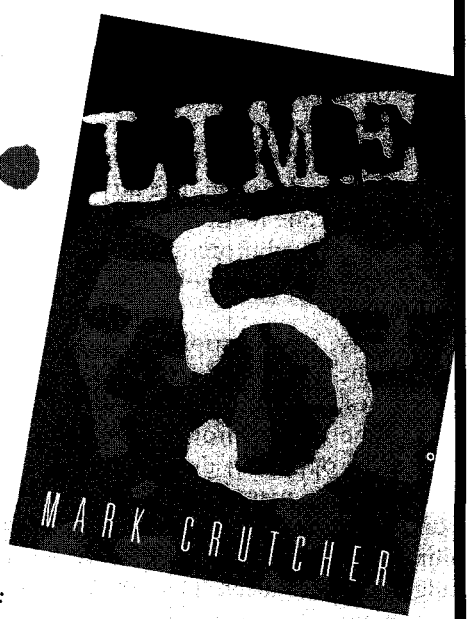
oung women are being raped, sexually assaulted, mutilated and killed inside American abortion clinics.

n agency of the U.S. Government is conducting a massive cover-up of abortion industry disasters.

ro-choice organizations advance their political agenda by sheltering abortion providers they know are dangerous.

bortion-injured women who seek justice from the civil courts have to compete against a system that was designed to protect the people who injured them.

he abortion industry is collapsing because performing abortions is emotionally destroying clinic workers.



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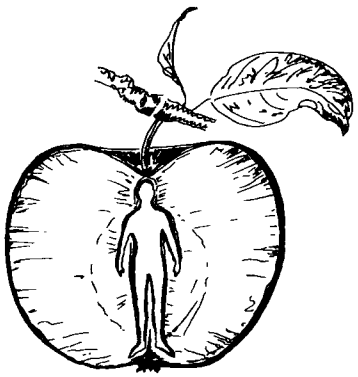
that sound good and good ideas that are sound. The current war on drugs is an idea that sounds good, but it is not a good idea that is sound. After hundreds of billions of dollars spent trying to stop the supply and demand of drugs, after the break-up of thousands of families because of the arrest of a nonviolent drug offender, after eight decades of failure, how much longer will the war on drugs continue?

I once told a television reporter that the war on drugs was our domestic Vietnam. Conservatives and liberals disagree about the justice of that war. But we generally agree that the strategy for fighting it didn't work, and as a result the war lasted too long and cost too many lives. The same is true of the war on drugs. It's time to bring this enervating war to an end. It's time for peace. □

4. Joseph D. McNamara

We turned next to a former police chief—Mr. McNamara was chief of police in Kansas City, Mo., and San Jose, Calif.—to inquire into the special problems of the war on drugs on the street. Mr. McNamara, who has a doctorate in public administration from Harvard, is the author of four books on policing and is currently a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

"IT'S THE money, stupid." After 35 years as a police officer in three of the country's largest cities, that is my message to the righteous politicians who obstinately proclaim that a war on drugs will lead to a drug-free America. About $500 worth of heroin or cocaine in a source country will bring in as much as $100,000 on the streets of an American city. All the cops, armies, prisons, and executions in the world cannot impede a market with that kind of tax-free profit margin. It is the illegality that permits the obscene markup, enriching drug traffickers, distributors, dealers, crooked cops, lawyers, judges, politicians, bankers, businessmen.



Naturally, these people are against reform of the drug laws. Drug crooks align themselves with their avowed enemies, such as the Drug Enforcement Administration, in opposing drug reform. They are joined by many others with vested economic interests. President Eisenhower warned of a military–industrial complex that would elevate the defense budget unnecessarily. That military–industrial complex pales in comparison to the host of industries catering to our national puritanical hypocrisy—researchers willing to tell the government what it wants to hear, prison builders, correction and parole officers' associations, drug-testing companies, and dubious purveyors of anti-drug education. Mayor Schmoke is correct about the vested interests in the drug war.

Sadly, the police have been pushed into a war they did not start and cannot win. It was not the police who lobbied in 1914 for passage of the Harrison Act, which first criminalized drugs. It was the Protestant missionary societies in China, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other such organizations that viewed the taking of psychoactive substances as sinful. These groups gradually got their religious tenets enacted into penal statutes under which the "sinners" go to jail. The religious origin is significant for two reasons. If drugs had been outlawed because the police had complained that drug use caused crime and disorder, the policy would have been more acceptable to the public and won more compliance. And the conviction that the use of certain drugs is immoral chills the ability to scrutinize rationally and to debate the effects of the drug war. When Ethan Nadelmann pointed out once that it was illogical for the most hazardous drugs, alcohol and nicotine, to be legal while less dangerous drugs were illegal, he was roundly denounced. A leading conservative supporter of the drug war contended that while alcohol and nicotine addiction was unhealthy and could even cost lives, addiction to illegal drugs could result in the loss of one's soul. No empirical proof was given.

The demonizing of these drugs and their users encourages demagoguery. William Bennett, the nation's first drug czar, would cut off the heads of drug sellers. Bennett's anti-drug rhetoric is echoed by Joseph Califano, the liberal former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, now chairman of the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University. Last June, the Center hysterically suggested (with great media coverage) that binge drinking and other substance abuse were taking over the nation's colleges, leading to an increase in rapes, assaults, and murders and to the spread of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The validity of the research in Califano's report was persuasively debunked by Kathy McNamara-Meis, writing in *Forbes Media Critic*. She was equally critical of the media for accepting the Center's sensational statements.

Conservatives like Bennett normally advocate minimal government. Liberals like Califano ordinarily recoil from the draconian prison sentences and property seizures used in the drug war. This illustrates why it is so difficult to get politicians to concede that alternative approaches to drug control need to be studied. We are familiar with the perception that the first casualty in any war is truth. Eighty years of drug-war propaganda has so influenced public opinion that most politicians believe they will lose their jobs if their opponents can claim they are soft on drugs and crime. Yet, public doubt is growing. Gallup reports that in 1990 only 4 per cent of Americans believed that "arresting the people who use drugs" is the best way for the government to allocate resources.

It was my own experience as a policeman trying to enforce the laws against drugs that led me to change my attitude about drug-control policy. The analogy to the Vietnam War is fitting. I was a willing foot soldier at the start of the modern drug war, pounding a beat in Harlem. During the early 1960s, as heroin use spread, we made

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many arrests, but it did not take long before cops realized that arrests did not lessen drug selling or drug use.

I came to realize just how ineffective we were in deterring drug use one day when my partner and I arrested an addict for possession of a hypodermic needle and heroin. Our prisoner had already shot up, but the heroin charge we were prepared to level at him was based on the tiny residue in the bottle cap used to heat the fix. It was petty, but then—and now—such arrests are valued because they can be used to claim success, like the body counts during the Vietnam War.

In this case the addict offered to "give" us a pusher in exchange for letting him go. He would lure the pusher into a hallway where we could then arrest him in the act of selling drugs. We trailed the addict along Lenox Avenue. To our surprise, he spoke to one man after another.

It suddenly struck me as humiliating, the whole scene. Here it was, broad daylight. We were brilliantly visible, in uniform, in a marked police car: and yet a few feet away, our quarry was attempting one drug transaction after another. The first two dealers weren't deterred by our presence—they were simply sold out, and we could not arrest them without the goods. We finally arrested the third pusher, letting the first addict escape, as we had covenanted. The man we brought in was selling drugs only to support his own habit.

Another inherent difficulty in drug enforcement is that violators are engaging in consensual activity and seek privacy. Every day, millions of drug crimes similar to what took place in front of our police car occur without police knowledge. To enforce drug laws the police have to resort to undercover work, which is dangerous to them and also to innocent bystanders. Drug enforcement often involves questionable ethical behavior by the police, such as what we did in letting a guilty person go free because he enticed someone else into violating the law.

Soldiers in a war need to dehumanize the enemy, and many cops look on drug users as less than human. The former police chief of Los Angeles, Daryl Gates, testified before the United States Senate that casual users should be taken out and shot. He defended the statement to the *Los Angeles Times* by saying, "We're in a war." New York police officers convicted of beating and robbing drug dealers (their boss at the time is now Director of the White House's Office of National Drug Control Policy) rationalized their crimes by saying it was impossible to stop drug dealing and these guys were the enemy. Why should they get to keep all the money?

POLICE scandals are an untallied cost of the drug war. The FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration, and even the Coast Guard have had to admit to corruption. The gravity of the police crimes is as disturbing as the volume. In New Orleans, a uniformed cop in league with a drug dealer has been convicted of murdering her partner and shop owners during a robbery committed while she was on patrol. In Washington, D.C., and in Atlanta, cops in drug stings were arrested for stealing and taking bribes. New York State troopers falsified drug evidence that sent people to prison.

And it is not just the rank and file. The former police chief of Detroit went to prison for stealing police drug-buy money. In a small New England town, the chief stole drugs from the evidence locker for his own use. And the DEA agent who arrested Panama's General Noriega is in jail for stealing laundered drug money.

The drug war is as lethal as it is corrupting. And the police and drug criminals are not the only casualties. An innocent 75-year-old African-American minister died of a heart attack struggling with Boston cops who were mistakenly arresting him because an informant had given them the wrong address. A rancher in Ventura County, California, was killed by a police SWAT team serving a search warrant in the mistaken belief that he was growing marijuana. In Los Angeles, a three-year-old girl died of gunshot wounds after her mother took a wrong turn into a street controlled by a drug-dealing gang. They fired on the car because it had invaded their marketplace.

Mayor Schmoke would ask community meetings three questions. 1) 'Have we won the drug war?' People laughed. 2) 'Are we winning the drug war?' People shook their heads. 3) 'If we keep doing what we are doing will we have won the drug war in ten years?' A resounding No.

The violence comes from the competition for illegal profits among dealers, not from crazed drug users. Professor Milton Friedman has estimated that as many as 10,000 additional homicides a year are plausibly attributed to the drug war.

Worse still, the drug war has become a race war in which non-whites are arrested and imprisoned at 4 to 5 times the rate whites are, even though most drug crimes are committed by whites. The Sentencing Research Project reports that one-third of black men are in jail or under penal supervision, largely because of drug arrests. The drug war has established thriving criminal enterprises which recruit teenagers into criminal careers.

It was such issues that engaged law-enforcement leaders—most of them police chiefs—from fifty agencies during a two-day conference at the Hoover Institution in May 1995. Among the speakers was our colleague in this symposium, Mayor Kurt Schmoke, who told the group that he had visited a high school and asked the students if the high dropout rate was due to kids' being hooked on drugs. He was told that the kids were dropping out because they were hooked on drug money, not drugs. He also told us that when he went to community meetings he would ask the audience three questions. 1) "Have we won the drug war?" People laughed. 2) "Are we winning the drug war?" People shook their heads. 3) "If we keep doing what we are doing will we have won the drug war in ten years?" The answer was a resounding No.

At the end of the conference, the police participants completed an evaluation form. Ninety per cent voted no confidence in the war on drugs. They were unanimous in

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favoring more treatment and education over more arrests and prisons. They were unanimous in recommending a presidential blue-ribbon commission to evaluate the drug war and to explore alternative methods of drug control. In sum, the tough-minded law-enforcement officials took positions directly contrary to those of Congress and the President.

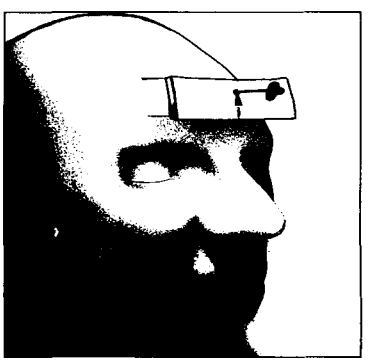
One hopes that politicians will realize that no one can accuse them of being soft on drugs if they vote for changes suggested by many thoughtful people in law enforcement. If the politicians tone down their rhetoric it will permit police leaders to expose the costs of our present drug-control policies. Public opinion will then allow policy changes to decriminalize marijuana and stop the arrest of hundreds of thousands of people every year. The enormous savings can be used for what the public really wants—the prevention of violent crime. □

5. Robert W. Sweet

To ponder the legal and judicial problems that arise from the drug war we turned to Robert Sweet, a District Judge in New York City. He has served as an Assistant U.S. Attorney and as Deputy Mayor of New York City under John Lindsay. He is a graduate of Yale and of Yale Law School.

WHY does a sitting judge, constitutionally charged with enforcing the laws of the United States, seek the abolition of the criminal penalties attached to drug use and distribution? The answer in my case stems from personal experience, leading to the conviction that our present policy debases the rule of law and that its fundamental premise is flawed.

In college in the Forties, while experimenting with the drug of choice—alcohol—I cheerfully sang the lyrics of "Cocaine Bill and Morphine Sue," without any understanding of the reality behind the words. As an Assistant United States Attorney in the Fifties, I accepted the enforcement of the drug laws without question. In the Sixties, as Deputy Mayor of the City of New York, I supported methadone and various modalities of treatment and rehabilitation. After becoming a federal trial judge in 1978, I presided over drug trials and sought to impose just sentences ranging from probation to twenty years.



Then Congress enacted mandatory minimum sentences, and judicial discretion was radically restricted. The day in the fall of 1988 that I was mandated to sentence Luis Quinones, an 18-year-old with no prior record, to ten years of real time because he was a bouncer in an apartment where drugs were being sold, I faced our national drug policy and the need to re-examine it. Assisted by the writings of Professor Ethan Nadelmann I concluded that our present policy of criminal prohibition was a monumental error. A number of other judges have reached the same conclusion. Judge Weinstein has characterized our present policy as "utter futility," and Judge Knapp has likened it to "taking minnows out of the pond."

As Chief McNamara writes, the realities of criminal prohibition are becoming recognized. The first and foremost effect is the creation of a pervasive and unbelievably powerful underground economy.

The Economist estimates that the markup on cocaine and heroin is not 5,000 per cent, as Messrs. Buckley and Duke suggest, but 20,000 per cent. The drug market in the United States is estimated at $150 billion a year. At least one group of distributors in a case before me sold 37,500 kilos of cocaine a month for gross sales of almost $20 million a month, and this group was but one of a number operating here.

While this economic engine drives forward, so have our efforts to punish those who operate it. Today we have the highest incarceration rate for any Western nation, almost 1 million [There are higher estimates. —ED.] in jails or prisons at a cost of $20 billion a year. Federal drug cases have trebled in ten years, up 25 per cent in 1993 alone, with marijuana cases up 17 per cent. The total federal expenditure on the drug war this year under the proposed budget will exceed $17 billion. Ten years ago the annual expenditure on the drug war was $5 billion for all governments, federal, state, and local.

While our expenditures have increased tenfold, the number of Americans using drugs has remained relatively constant at 40 million. Steady users are estimated to be 6 million, with 1 to 2 million of those seriously disordered. Our present prohibition policy has failed, flatly and without serious question.

Secondly, the rule of law has been debased by the use of criminal sanctions to alter personal conduct. Of course, the same effort was made in the Twenties and Thirties with respect to alcohol, with the same results. Al Capone and Nicky Barnes are interchangeable. Drive-by shootings, turf wars, mugging, and random violence are all the direct result of criminal prohibition. Courts are clogged with drug cases to such an extent that in some jurisdictions (the Eastern District of New York and the Southern District of Florida, for example) it is difficult to find the resources to try civil cases; yet, the street-corner availability of drugs is known to every citizen.

The rights of the individual have been curtailed in the name of the War on Drugs. We have seen the elimination of an accused's right to pretrial release for most charges under the drug laws; heightened restrictions on post-conviction bail; and invasions into the attorney–client relationship through criminal forfeiture.

The criteria for securing a search warrant have been relaxed. In drug cases, the Supreme Court has permitted the issuance of search warrants based on anonymous tips and tips from informants known to be corrupt and unreliable; permitted warrantless searches of fields, barns, and private property near a residence; and upheld evidence

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obtained under defective search warrants if the officers executing the warrant acted in "good faith." Taken together, these holdings have been characterized as "the drug exception to the Fourth Amendment."

Police corruption and the unwholesome practice of using confidential informants (one of whom made over $100,000 in a case before me) have been noted by Chief McNamara.

Finally, the fundamental flaw, which will ultimately destroy this prohibition as it did the last one, is that criminal sanctions cannot, and should not attempt to, prohibit personal conduct which does no harm to others. Personal liberty surely must extend to what, when, and how much a citizen can ingest.

The Framers of our Constitution explicitly acknowledged that the individual possesses certain rights not enumerated in the text of the Constitution and not contingent upon the relationship between the individual and the Federal Government. When a right has been narrowly defined as, for example, the right to possess marijuana or cocaine, the courts have refused to recognize it as one that is fundamental in nature. However, when the right to ingest substances is considered in more general terms as the right to self-determination, that right has a constitutional foundation as yet undeclared.

To overturn the present policy will not be easy, given the established bureaucracy, but President Kennedy at the Berlin Wall was correct: "Change is the law of life." We must recognize that drug use is first and foremost a health problem, and that, as Professor Nadelmann has established, mind-altering substances are a part of modern life to be understood and their effects ameliorated, rather than grounds for prosecution.

Alcohol and tobacco have a social cost when abused, and society has properly concluded that abuse of these drugs is a health problem, not a criminal issue. Indeed, our experience with the reduction of 50 per cent in the use of tobacco—the most addicting of drugs, which results in 400,000 deaths a year—confirms the wisdom of that policy. To distinguish between these substances and heroin or cocaine is mere tautology.

Congress should end the criminalization of marijuana, which is now widely acknowledged to be without deleterious effect. That reform alone would take 450,000 arrests out of the system.

While the medicalization of the issue is going forward, Congress should accept the recommendations of President Nixon's commission on the drug laws and of the National Academy of Sciences in 1982 and end the criminalization of marijuana, which is now widely acknowledged to be without deleterious effect. That reform alone would take 450,000 arrests out of the system.

The latest crime bill proposed a study of violence and crime encompassing drug policy but failed to fund it. The Surgeon General proposed such a study and got fired. Such a study, if fairly conducted, would compel the abolition of criminal prohibition of drugs by the Federal Government, permitting all drugs to be treated much the same as alcohol: restricted by the individual states as to time and place of sale, barred from minors, subject to truth in advertising, and made the source of tax revenue. As with alcohol, those who harm or pose a threat to others while under the influence of drugs would face criminal sanctions.

The effect of the underworld drug economy, the debasement of the rule of law, and the undermining of fundamental fairness and individual rights under the war on drugs all combine to require that the criminal prohibition against drug use and distribution be ended. □

6. Thomas Szasz

Dr. Szasz, of the Department of Psychiatry at Syracuse University, has for many years argued the medical case that proscribed drugs, while catastrophic in their effect on some people, are, when used by most, taken without permanent damage. He has also, in his numerous books, pleaded the libertarian point, namely that drug-taking is the individual's business and responsibility.

THE war on drugs is a mass movement characterized by the demonizing, as Chief McNamara suggests, of certain objects and persons ("drugs," "addicts," "traffickers") as the incarnations of evil. Hence, it is foolish to dwell on the drug prohibitionist's failure to attain his avowed aims. Since he wages war on evil, his very effort is synonymous with success. It is a fatal weakness of prudential critiques of drug policy that they ignore the "religious" character of the war on drugs.

The Crusaders' war on the Infidel dramatized their unwavering devotion to the True Faith. The Communists' war on private property dramatized their unwavering devotion to the ideal of a society free of economic exploitation. America's war on drugs dramatizes our unwavering devotion to the ideal of a "drug-free" society. The right analogy for America's war on drugs is not the Vietnam War, but Communism.

The Soviet Union was the embodiment of the principle that private property is evil. To protect people from dangerous capitalists, the USSR criminalized leaving the country without permission. The Russians are now paying the price of their anti-capitalist mentality.

Today, the United States is the embodiment of the principle that self-medication is evil. To protect people from rejecting protection from dangerous drugs, the U.S. criminalizes self-medication without a prescription. We are now paying the price of our anti-drug mentality.

William Bennett is right: Drug use and drug controls are primarily moral issues. But whereas Bennett sees self-medication as wicked and drug criminalization as virtuous, I see self-medication as a basic human right (with unqualified responsibility for its consequences) and drug criminalization as sinful (hypocritical and unenforceable).

Among the sins of the drug warriors, I view the follow-

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ing as especially important: 1) destroying Americans' attachment to, indeed their very understanding of, limited government; 2) converting tort law into an instrument of economic redistribution and the principle of *caveat emptor* into that of *caveat vendor*; 3) turning doctors into drug-monopolists (by making the purchase of most drugs, especially "pleasure-producing" drugs, illegal without a physician's prescription), and perverting the medical criteria of disease and treatment (by defining certain "bad" choices as diseases, and certain "good" coercions as treatments); 4) obscuring the obvious fact that all biologically active substances are potentially dangerous (in certain doses, to some persons, under certain circumstances); 5) converting the relationship between doctor and patient from a contract between two responsible adults into a domination–dependence relationship; and 6) redefining the relationship between drug seller and drug buyer from a contract between two responsible adults into a victimization relationship.

In his great work *Ancient Law*, Sir Henry Maine articulated his famous general proposition: "The movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract." The war on drugs is but one manifestation, albeit a very important one, of a radical reversal of this movement. Gradually, the American polity has become transformed from a limited government (the Rule of Law) into an unlimited Therapeutic State (relations based on status).

I reject my fellow panelists' sympathetic stance toward medical drug controls. To treat people in great pain effectively, we do not need more "compassion"; we simply need a social setting where individuals have legal access to narcotics and where doctors can administer such drugs in conformity with their patients' wants, without fear of criminal penalties for overprescribing, or civil penalties for malpractice, or both. Prescribing heroin and methadone for addicts is not the solution, but the very epitome of the problem. Enough said.

In a secular society committed to individual liberty and personal responsibility, the legislator's task is to enact laws to govern the behavior of adults, not children (whose management is primarily the responsibility of their parents). Once a person loses sight of this fact, it is easy to convince him that protecting children from drugs justifies making drugs difficult to obtain for adults.

Drugs are, of course, not the only dangerous artifacts in our environment. Electricity, household appliances and cleansers, and countless other products of human inventiveness endanger, injure, and kill children. We accept these inventions that, in the long run, make our lives healthier and safer, and adapt to them by teaching children to cope realistically with the risks they pose. Harassing adults and depriving them of rights will not work as a substitute for disciplining children.

Our obsession with the necessity of drug controls is closely intertwined with our attitudes toward self-harm and health care on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with our attitudes toward the manufacturer's and provider's tort liability for substances and interventions classified as "medical." In contemporary medical–political discourse, the issue of free will is raised only to assert its absence, and hence the unsuitability of market relations in connection with drugs and health care. To be sure, it makes no sense to let people make important choices if we believe that they are unable to choose, because they are the victims of addiction or mental illness.

We try to prevent our children from putting foreign bodies into their nostrils or other body cavities. Why? Partly because we love them and partly because their self-injury causes us a lot of trouble. In proportion as we treat adults like children—lifting the economic burden of medical care from their shoulders and placing it on everyone else's shoulders—we create a set of monstrous incentives whose reality we refuse to acknowledge. Protecting everyone from having to pay for his own health care and at the same time making everyone pay for everyone else's health care not only infantilizes everyone, but encourages everyone to meddle in everyone else's life (in order to reduce the medical services others require).

If Jones manufactures cigarettes which Smith buys and which give him lung cancer, the government forces Jones to defend himself in court against the accusation of having harmed Smith, and forces Taylor (as taxpayer) to pay Smith's medical treatment. So long as we use this formula for managing risks everyone in Taylor's position has an incentive to limit Jones's right to sell cigarettes and Smith's right to smoke them.

Suppose, then, that selling and buying cocaine were as legal in January 1996 as in January 1896. Jones sells cocaine, accurately labeled as to composition, side effects, lethal dose, and so forth. Smith buys some and dies as a result of using it. Mrs. Smith sues Jones for causing her husband's "wrongful death." Given our mindset, the judge refuses to dismiss the complaint and orders the matter to go to trial; the plaintiff's lawyers retain the most prestigious experts to testify that the "victim" was not responsible for his behavior; the jury imposes a judgment for ruinous compensatory and punitive damages on Jones. In such a legal atmosphere, only the black marketeer enjoys the *caveat emptor* protections of traditional contract.

In a secular society committed to individual liberty and personal responsibility the legislator's task is to enact laws to govern the behavior of adults, not children.

Not surprisingly, bringing a free market in goods and services into being in Russia has turned out to require more than abolishing the Gulag. Respect for private property and private profit, supported by a well-functioning commercial/legal system, is needed as well.

Mutatis mutandis, bringing a free market in drugs into being in America would require more than repealing criminal sanctions against selling and buying drugs. Respect for autonomy and responsibility, supported by a rational tort system, would be needed as well.

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I fear that we shall not be able or willing to re-embrace a free market in drugs (whose benefits we enjoyed from 1776 until 1914) until the drug war has caused us a great deal more suffering and until we become willing to attribute that suffering to drug laws (and their consequences) rather than to drugs (and their abuse). □

7. Steven B. Duke

Mr. Duke is the Law of Science and Technology Professor at Yale Law School. He is co-author, with Albert C. Gross, of America's Longest War: Rethinking Our Tragic Crusade against Drugs *(Tarcher/Putnam, 1993). Professor Duke pays special attention to the widespread assumption that legalization would bring on huge addiction. And ends by wondering why conservative politicians, with a single exception, are apparently indifferent to what is happening under our noses as a result of the unwon, and unwinnable, war on drugs.*

"THE DRUG war is not working," says Bill Buckley. That is certainly true if we assume, as he does, that the purpose of the drug war is to induce Americans to consume only approved drugs. But as the war wears on, we have to wonder what its purposes really are.

If its purpose is to make criminals out of one in three African-American males, it has succeeded. If its purpose is to create one of the highest crime rates in the world—and thus to provide permanent fodder for demagogues who decry crime and promise to do something about it—it is achieving that end. If its purpose is de facto repeal of the Bill of Rights, victory is well in sight. If its purpose is to transfer individual freedom to the central government, it is carrying that off as well as any of our real wars did. If its purpose is to destroy our inner cities by making them war zones, triumph is near.

Most of the results of the drug war, of which the essayists here complain, were widely observed during alcohol prohibition. Everyone should have known that the same fate would follow if the Prohibition approach were merely transferred to different drugs.

It has been clear for over a decade that Milton Friedman's warnings about Prohibition *redux* have been borne out (see his "Prohibition and Drugs," *Newsweek*, May 1, 1972). At some point, the consequences of a social policy become so palpable that deliberate continuation of the policy incorporates those consequences into the policy. We are near if not past that point with drug prohibition.

For forty years following the repeal of alcohol prohibition, we treated drug prohibition as we did other laws against vice: we didn't take it very seriously. As we were extricating ourselves from the Vietnam War, however, Richard Nixon declared "all-out global war on the drug menace," and the militarization of the problem began. After Ronald Reagan redeclared that war, and George Bush did the same, we had a drug-war budget that was 1,000 times what it was when Nixon first discovered the new enemy.

The objectives of the drug war are obscured in order to prevent evaluation. A common claim, for example, is that prohibition is part of the nation's effort to prevent serious crime. Bill Clinton's drug czar, Dr. Lee Brown, testified before Congress:

> Drugs—especially addictive, hard-core drug use—are behind much of the crime we see on our streets today, both those crimes committed by users to finance their lifestyles and those committed by traffickers and dealers fighting for territory and turf. . . . Moreover, there is a level of fear in our communities that is, I believe, unprecedented in our history . . .

If these remarks had been preceded by two words, "Prohibition of," the statement would have been correct, and the political reverberations would have been deafening. Instead, Dr. Brown implied that drug consumption is by itself responsible for "turf wars" and the other enumerated evils, an implication which he and every other drug warrior know is false. The only possibility more daunting than that our leaders are dissembling is that they might actually believe the nonsense they purvey.

I have little to add to the catalogue of drug-war casualties in the other essays assembled here. I do, however, see another angle of entry for Mr. Buckley's efforts at "quantification." I have argued elsewhere that the drug war is responsible for at least half of our serious crime. A panel of experts consulted by *U.S. News & World Report* put the annual dollar cost of America's crime at $674 billion. Half of that, $337 billion, was the *total* federal budget as recently as 1975. The crime costs of drug prohibition alone may equal 150 per cent of the entire federal welfare budget for 1995.

I also think Mr. Buckley understates the nonquantifiable loss of what he quaintly refers to as "amenities." Not only is it nearly suicidal to walk alone in Central Park at night, it is impossible in sections of some cities safely to leave one's home, or to remain there. Some Americans sleep in their bathtubs hoping they are bullet-proof. Prohibition-generated violence is destroying large sections of American cities. We can have our drug war or we can have healthy cities; we cannot have both.

Prohibition-generated violence is destroying large sections of American cities. We can have our drug war or we can have healthy cities; we cannot have both.

In this collection of essays, we critics have focused on the costs of the drug war. The warriors could justly complain if we failed to mention the benefits. So let's take a look at the "benefit" side of the equation. Were it not for the drug war, the prohibitionists say, we might be a nation of zombies. The DEA pulled the figure of 60 million from the sky: that's how many cocaine users they say we would have if it weren't for prohibition. Joseph Califano's colleague at the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse, Dr. Herbert Kleber, a former assistant to William Bennett, puts the number of cocaine users after repeal at a

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more modest 20 to 25 million. In contrast, government surveys suggest that only about 3 million Americans currently use cocaine even occasionally and fewer than 500,000 use it weekly.

The prohibitionists' scenarios have no basis either in our history or in other cultures. In many countries, heroin and cocaine are cheap and at least de facto legal. Mexico is awash in cheap drugs, yet our own State Department says that Mexico does "not have a serious drug problem." Neither cocaine nor heroin is habitually consumed by more than a small fraction of the residents of any country in the world. There is no reason to suppose that Americans would be the single exception.

Lee Brown used to rely on alcohol prohibition as proof that legalization would addict the nation, asserting that alcohol consumption "shot straight up" when Prohibition was repealed. He no longer claims that, it having been pointed out to him that alcohol consumption increased only about 25 per cent in the years following repeal. Yet even assuming, contrary to that experience, that ingestion of currently illegal drugs would double or triple following repeal, preventing such increased consumption still cannot be counted a true benefit of drug prohibition. After repeal, the drugs would be regulated; their purity and potency would be disclosed on the package, as Mr. Buckley points out, together with appropriate warnings. Deaths from overdoses and toxic reactions would be reduced, not increased. Moreover, as Richard Cowan has explained (*NR*, "How the Narcs Created Crack," Dec. 5, 1986), the drugs consumed after repeal would be less potent than those ingested under prohibition. Before alcohol prohibition, we were a nation of beer drinkers. Prohibition pushed us toward hard liquor, a habit from which we are still recovering. Before the Harrison Act, many Americans took their cocaine in highly diluted forms, such as Coca-Cola.

We would also end the cruel practices described by Ethan Nadelmann wherein we deny pain medication to those who need it, preclude the medical use of marijuana, and compel drug users to share needles and thus to spread deadly diseases. The proportion of users who would consume the drugs without substantial health or other problems would be greatly increased. In comparison to any plausible post-repeal scenario, therefore, there simply are *no* health benefits achieved by prohibition.

GIVEN the forum, I should perhaps confess that I am not now, nor have I ever been, a conservative. As an outsider, therefore, perhaps I can be pardoned for my inability to see consistency in the positions conservatives commonly take on drugs and related issues. I can understand how one who believes that government should force us to lead proper lives can, albeit mistakenly, support drug prohibition. But I cannot comprehend how *any* conservative can support the drug war. That is my major mystery. I am also perplexed by some subordinate, mini-mysteries, of which here are a few:

—Why do so many conservatives preach "individual responsibility" yet ardently punish people for the chemicals they consume and thus deny the right that gives meaning to the responsibility? Many of these same conservatives would think it outrageous for the government to decree the number of calories we ingest or the kind of exercise we get, even though such decrees would be aimed at preserving our lives, keeping us productive, and reducing the drain on scarce medical resources. The incongruity of these positions is mystifying, and so is the willingness of conservatives, in order to protect people from their own folly, to impose huge costs in death, disease, crime, corruption, and destruction of civil liberties upon others who are entirely innocent: people who do not partake of forbidden drugs.

—Newt Gingrich, Charles Murray, and other conservatives are rightly concerned about the absence of fathers in the homes of so many of America's youngsters. Where are those fathers? At least half a million are in prison, often for nothing worse than possessing drugs.

—Countless conservatives revere the right to one's property. Yet many conservatives support drug forfeiture as gladly as liberals. Congress has made a criminal prosecution unnecessary for persons with property who are associated (even if indirectly) with illicit drugs. An apartment house may be forfeited if a tenant grows a marijuana plant in his bathroom. A grandmother's home may be forfeited if a grandson hides drugs in the basement which he sells to his friends. The Supreme Court has said that there are constitutional limits on forfeitures, but it has yet to find any. With the notable exception of Congressman Henry Hyde (see his book, *Forfeiting Our Property Rights*), most legislators are unconcerned about drawing a line.

—Many conservatives strongly support schemes to "devolve" matters from the Federal Government to state and local governments. Yet there does not appear to be a single conservative politician in America who applies this principle to drug prohibition. The mystery deepens when we remember that this is precisely the way we handled alcohol prohibition. When we repealed the Eighteenth Amendment, we didn't declare that all forms of alcohol distribution were beyond the reach of prohibition; in the Twenty-First Amendment, we simply let each state decide how it wanted to handle alcohol. Some remained dry. Many devolved the issue to cities and counties, some of which have elected to maintain prohibition to this very day. Judge Sweet and others make a powerful case for applying this approach to other drugs in addition to alcohol. Why hasn't any conservative in elective office at least suggested that it be *considered*?

The only benefit to America in maintaining prohibition is the psychic comfort we derive from having a permanent scapegoat. But why did we have to pick an enemy the warring against which is so self-destructive? We would be better off blaming our ills on celestial invaders flying about in saucers. □

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 20, 1996

Dear Rusty,

Well, Tipper was right again! She told me this morning that if I cleaned out the basement, I'd be surprised by what turned up. So down I went with a box and a mess of recyclable trash bags and a reluctant Al Jr. And boy! do we Gores have a messy basement!

But since it's snowing like the dickens out and since Al Jr.'s soccer game (St. Alban's vs. Calvert) was called off due to snowdrifts five feet high (the tallest kid on Al's team is 4'11"), the Gore men weren't that unhappy to do some early spring cleaning.

We found the usual basement stuff: solar hats, earth brick molds, planetary communication panels, that kind of thing. But behind a box of copies of Earth in the Balance, we found a box of notes that look like they could belong to you—they're handwritten, and written in some form of scientific notation, I think; at least, I can't make heads or tails out of it:

2/23/93

HRC—v. upst. Scrmng. Rd fcd. Snrlng. Thrwng lmp @ potus.

Wnts WHTrvl Offc "hng out 2 dry."

Hrry Thmsn nds $$$$$$ for trvl/chrtr/whtevr. $$$$$$$ more $$$$$$$ more $$$$$$$.

Does any of that make sense to you? It looks to me like some kind of complicated photosynthesis thing.

We also found a stack of computer printouts. Here's one of them.

RSE LW FRM—BILLING/PROJECT CODE/HRS

HRC—WhtWtr/CstlGrnd/McDgl/et al—110 hrs @ $350

HRC—rprsntg WhtWtr to Gov—110 hrs @ $350

These go on and on. Stacks and stacks of them. Could they be the baby-sitting ledger for one of the girls?

And then we found some more handwritten notes.

9/12/93

Frst Ldy v. upst. Scrmg. Shtng. Thrwng plts & bwls & portrt of Lincln & scrmng & cllng me a "gd 4 nthg" and tllng me 2 "fall on the grnade." & sayng that the $$$ for cttle futrs not the only $$$, so "smll the cffee u dmbsht." Potus jst sttng thr, prtndng nt to hr.

Frst ldy syng v.fos "did the rt thng" and "prvd hs lylty."

Frst ldy syng mr $$$$ and $$$$ and need $$$$ "vacum" offc and dsk of v.fos, "sck" the files in Rse Lw Frm. "Shrd evrythng!!!"

Frst ldy clls potus "wshy wshy gd 4 nthg ld around by his 'trsr snk.' Portrt of Thos. Jeffrsn slmmd in2 wall.

Mttng ends. No actn tkn.

Does any of that make sense to you, Rusty? Could it be something the Quayles forgot to take?

The strange thing is, I was just down here a few weeks ago and I didn't notice all of this junk cluttering the place up. And when Tipper ordered me to clean up the basement, it was like she knew that all of these boxes and papers were here, even though as far as I know, she hasn't been down here for ages.

"What's down there, Tip?" I asked.

"Our last hope," she said. You know women, Rusty. It's like they have some kind of sixth sense for housecleaning.

The next thing that turned up was a computer disk, which Al Jr. happily "hacked" his way into. The screen on his laptop just sprang alive—numbers and figures zooming by. All I caught was:

TO: B.C. & H.R.C.

FR: H.Th. & L. B-Th.

Attached please find profit projections for Air Thomason, Inc. Please initial and route to M. McL. and D. Watkins.

Then some sort of spreadsheet program began, and the numbers kept getting larger and larger.

And the last scrap of paper—and this one really might be important—

IOU $30,000 for re-election Gov. Ark.

Redeemable in cash or in kind.

I'm tempted to recycle most of this—we should be encouraging people to e-mail whenever they can, and so if whoever it belongs to comes back looking for it, well, let them learn the hard way.

There was also a giant box of computer diskettes, but I gave them all to Al Jr., who's merrily erasing them so he can use them to save his "Zoop" games.

I still haven't decided what to do with all of this paper, though. Maybe I'll ask Tipper to handle it. After all, she's the one who sent me down here in the first place. She'll know what to do with it.

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

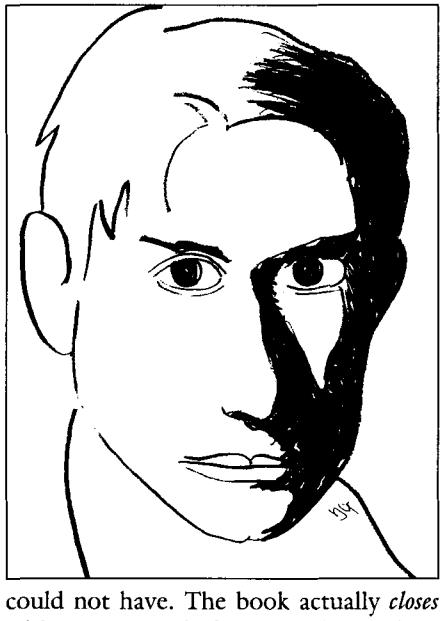
Picasso Cubed

DAVID GELERNTER

MAILER'S *Picasso* is an account not merely of the man but of his art, which is reproduced on nearly every page and discussed at length. Somehow the author has gotten the subversive idea that painting is important enough for a major writer to treat seriously, and not merely in a gossipy biography or a bunch of occasional pieces but in a big, idea-containing, theme-developing book. This book is an affront to the specialists who swarm over art like ants on a layer cake. They tend to write badly, in bristling, heavily fortified sentences designed to keep mere art-lovers at bay. "The near-impenetrability of the critical jargon," Mailer notes, "is startling to anyone schooled in a literary tradition"; but it is perfectly in keeping with the ideology of "expertise" that dominates modern culture. Decades ago, our dazzled-by-science intellectual elite decided that only specialists are worth listening to, and the way you recognize specialists is that you can't understand them. Mailer objects; in his view, to love art and be capable of careful, original thought and powerful prose are sufficient qualifications for interpreting Picasso.

Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man, by Norman Mailer (Atlantic Monthly Press, 400 pp., $35)

Picasso is a collage; the author quotes often and at length from other books. The counterpoint that results is odd but effective. For example: just as Picasso is about to take up with Fernande Olivier, his first serious mistress, we encounter nearly thirty pages of (occasionally annotated) excerpts from Fernande's memoirs. During this unexpected vacation from Mailer's belligerent prose we rest and reflect. Fernande tells of a strictly reared middle-class girl's brief and brutal marriage ("Why, then, do men find so much excitement in violence?"), half-hearted lesbian encounters, flight from her husband, sexual meanderings. Some readers would have been just at the point (as I was) of dismissing Mailer's relentlessly sexual reading of every aspect of Picasso's life and art—but Fernande's voice makes one reconsider in a way Mailer's own voice could not have. The book actually *closes* with a paragraph from another writer, and the effect once again is interesting. The author lowers his sails and bows out, and the story glides home under its own formidable momentum.



David Gelernter

Sharp observations keep us interested. Picasso is apparently stillborn; the midwife gives up, but his physician uncle blows cigar smoke in his face and he comes to life. "It is not unfair to say that the harsh spirit of tobacco is seldom absent from his work." A 1904 photo of a corner in Montmartre reminds us "of how much a city square could still look like a painting at the turn of the century." There is a fine discussion, on the occasion of the police's collaring Picasso on suspicion of complicity in the theft of the *Mona Lisa*, of "the primal panic that still lived in frantic disarray beneath his ego." After the strict ocher-and-umber severity of pure Cubism, color is allowed back in: "conceive of a high-tech operation in a wholly sterile room that now is flooded with odors of cooking fat, garlic, and onions —such was the effect of color on Analytic Cubism."

The best part of the book has to do with the violence and death at the heart of Cubism. Depicting people as if they have been cut into small pieces and spread out to dry is *inherently* a violent gesture. And Cubism at the very least is the first portrait-painting technique in history that is guaranteed, as Picasso proudly demonstrates to Fernande, to make beautiful girls look ugly. (Of course, she is thrilled.) "Some of the paintings, if we dare to entertain the vision, have the appearance of corpses, their flesh in strips and tatters, organs open." "Picasso's canvases usually look as if he is absolutely confident of what he is seeing, is truly gazing into a great and often ominous depth, whereas Braque, generally, seems merely to be searching."

Despite such fine sentences, the first of the book's big flaws is that the author hasn't looked hard enough at individual paintings; he spends too much time stuck on big, general themes. Masterpieces fly by and he misses them completely. He reproduces a 1901 self-portrait—Picasso's first great painting, full of calm power; the spattering boil of the early paintings has settled down finally to an even simmer. But Mailer is interested only insofar as he can saddle the thing with a far-fetched sexual interpretation. The Blue Period arrives with a famous portrait of friend Sabartes. Isn't it remarkable that all of a sudden, an artist who draws magnificently has decided to make misshapen people on purpose? Mailer has no comment. In a 1905 painting of a family of acrobats, a

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girl props one foot on the other with exquisite, compelling feminine grace. A 1906 portrait of Leo Stein leaps off the page—a staggering composition with the quiet, composed face at dead-center like the clapper of a bell while the radically off-balance body bongs around it. The author has nothing to say. The 1910 portraits of Kahnweiler and (still more) Vollard are Cubism's masterpieces because they respect the structural integrity of the thing depicted, turn the canvas into a magic panel interposed between the viewer and the real world, give us an inkling of what Cubism might have been—brutal and also lovely. Mailer's comment: "These portraits are not only familiar but successful." Of course they're familiar, but if you have nothing to offer on familiar topics, why write the biography of one of the century's most famous men?

The author deserves much credit for making fascinating questions surface in the reader's mind—but then he consistently refuses to answer or even acknowledge them, as if he is still unsure of his material; as if he is still one radical rewrite short of a brilliant book. Braque (to simplify only a little) wants to be an artist but can't draw, so he invents Cubism. Picasso is the century's greatest draftsman. For several years Braque and Picasso make Cubist paintings that are nearly indistinguishable. Is Picasso's stupendous draftsmanship a non-factor in these paintings, or does it do something important beneath the surface, or is it the subterranean force that ultimately destroys Cubism? Mailer says of Fernande that "her face was her fortune," and writes at length about Picasso's appearance too: his smallness, darkness, sturdiness, hypnotic eyes. But if you look at Picasso's face (or better, draw it), it strikes you immediately that maybe his face is also *his* fortune. Those classical features recur constantly in his work. When he rejects elegant classicism (only to come back to it repeatedly), is he rejecting his own face? Mailer makes much of his latent self-loathing—thereby laying the basis for a fascinating discussion; but the discussion itself never materializes.

Saddest of all is the slack writing that bleeds so much energy from the narrative. There are brilliant sentences, but too many lazy ones. Still, can you blame the author? He has produced dazzling stylistic masterpieces (*Ancient Evenings*, *Harlot's Ghost*), and the critics simply haven't noticed. To the book-review establishment—led by that one-magazine cultural catastrophe, *The New York Times Book Review*—good prose is a distraction. The *Times* is famous for its expert-reviewer corps, and experts have more important things to worry about than good writing. But good writing takes enormous energy, and if no one cares (one can imagine Mailer reasoning, perhaps subconsciously), why bother? (Elgar wrote a Third Symphony that he left in piano score because, he figured, no one wanted to hear it. The experts of his day were also busy with more important things—all those gorgeous 12-tone compositions the music-loving public still can't get enough of.)

I move we vote Mailer a round of thanks and ask him to go home and write a second edition. □

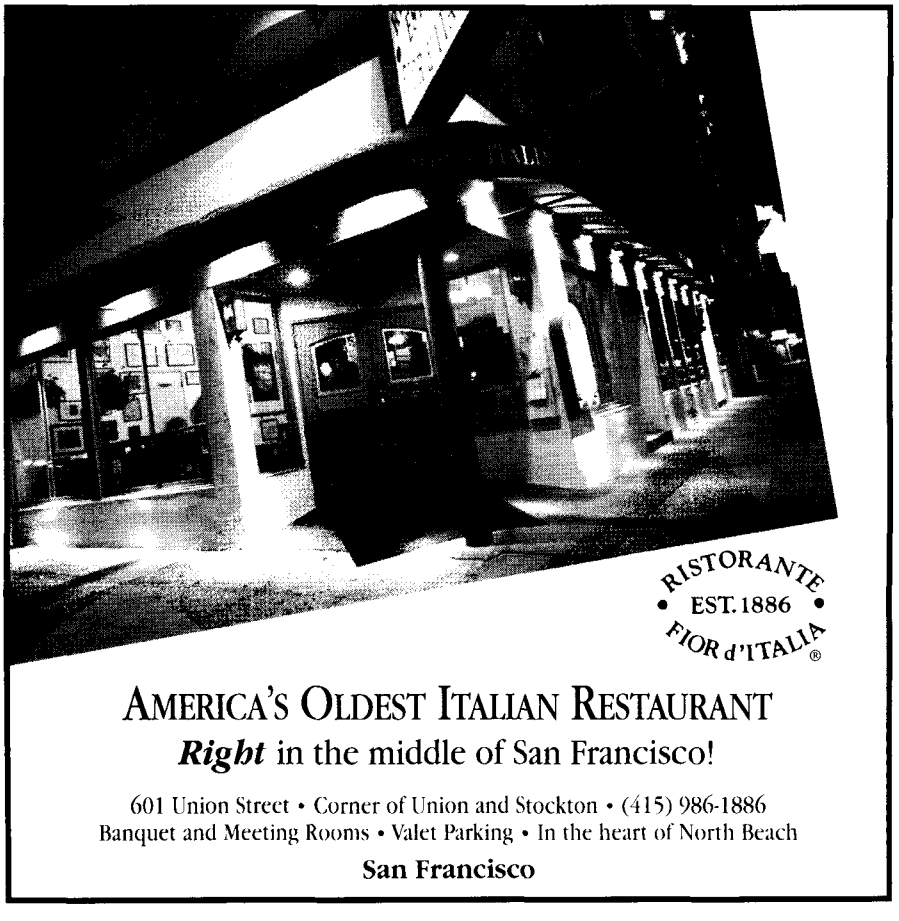
The Coelacanth

PETER BRIMELOW

Fresh Blood: The New American Immigrants, by Sanford J. Ungar (Simon & Schuster, 399 pp., $24)

I DIMLY recall that a dramatic high point of the *Kon Tiki* expedition, Thor Heyerdahl's epic raft voyage across the South Pacific in the early 1950s, was the washing aboard of a coelacanth, a primitive fish previously believed to have been extinct for geologic ages and therefore dubbed by the media a "living fossil." Sanford Ungar's book offers a similar thrill. With almost charming innocence it flops into this moderately advanced stage of the immigration debate blissfully unaware both of the new critique of immigration's malfunctioning developed by younger academics like George Borjas, and of

Mr. Brimelow is a senior editor at NR *and the author of* Alien Nation.



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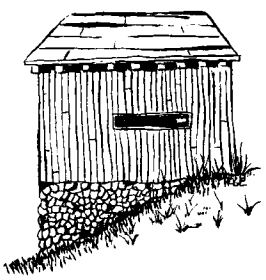
the increasingly desperate defenses extemporized by immigration enthusiasts. *Fresh Blood* is a throwback to the days when dinosaurs and immigration enthusiasts ruled the world, and a useful reminder of their essential crudity.

For example: immigration enthusiasts respond to Borjas's demonstration that immigrants are significantly more likely to be on welfare than native-born Americans by blaming it all on the exceptionally poor performance of the 100,000 to 150,000 refugees admitted annually under the 1980 Refugee Act. But they never propose abolishing this disastrous program, nor do they mention that non-refugee immigrant welfare participation is still far above that of native whites.



Neither this welfare debate nor any other such detail troubles the serenity of *Fresh Blood*. Indeed its resemblance to a coelacanth extends to a striking combination of fairly effective empirical perceptions and a tiny brain. Its level of conceptualization is so primitive that it contains no account of the history of American immigration, which involves frequent pauses for digestion, sometimes extending for decades. It completely misreports the pivotal role of the 1965 Immigration Act, which accidentally triggered the current mass immigration. (Ungar thinks the 1965 Act emphasized skills. It actually did exactly the opposite, besides allowing just 15 mostly Third World countries to capture the great bulk of legal slots. Ungar apparently does not realize that his East European Jewish immigrant parents, about whom we hear a great deal, could not have gotten in under the 1965 Act.)

Naturally *Fresh Blood* casts no light on the complex argument about the fiscal burden that it is increasingly clear this immigration imposes on American taxpayers. Its references to this issue appear to be derived from a casual reading of a few special-pleading op-ed pieces in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The ultimate economic question —whether immigration is actually necessary to American economic growth, especially given the counter-example of Japan—has quite obviously never crossed the author's mind.

What this literary coelacanth does have, however, is reportage. The bulk of Ungar's book is a series of uncritical interviews with contemporary immigrants. It is easy to dismiss this as anecdotal evidence, which it is. And there are no interviews with immigrant criminals or displaced American workers—that would be asking too much. But read carefully, this material actually supplies ample reason to reject what Mr. Ungar asserts is his central thesis: "that immigrants invariably give as much as they take, that they help the United States maintain its place as an international leader by changing, adapting, and evolving."

Ungar's immigrants are fatally entangled with the welfare state. The existence of the American welfare state is a fundamental change since the last great wave of immigrants between 1880 and 1920, and it has altered the dynamics of immigration fundamentally. Immigration enthusiasts often say, in their emotional way, that immigrants come for work, not welfare. But this is irrelevant: once here they can get welfare, whereas in 1900 workplace failure meant returning home. Some 40 per cent of First Great Wave immigrants eventually returned home; now perhaps 90 per cent of legal immigrants stay.

None of this broader context appears in *Fresh Blood*, of course. But Mr. Ungar does find Hmong who tell him flatly that they have congregated in Minnesota because of its generous welfare benefits, timing both marriage and divorce to exploit the rules. Several of the successful immigrants he cites are themselves employed by welfare agencies, sometimes specifically to deal with problems caused by their immigrant countrymen. Ungar's admiring account of how home-grown American social activists fought to facilitate the settling of Cambodian refugees in Revere, Massachusetts, is a litany of tax moneys extorted and spent, ending with his editorial complaint that "tax-limiting voter initiatives passed in the 1980s restrict the city council's ability to raise new funds to pay for the necessary programs." The result, Mr. Ungar reports without a qualm, is a filthy slum, racial violence, and warring Asian gangs.

Ungar's immigrants also have little intention of assimilating. It is refreshing to have such frank confirmation of this, since more battle-scarred immigration enthusiasts have learned to hide their earlier enthusiasm for this phenomenon. Again, Ungar is a throwback. He refers contemptuously to the ideal of a common American culture ("true blue and homogenized"). He asserts that under "the new ground rules" a group can "choose to stand apart" and "stick together" to "get ahead"—that is, use collective political power to impose their will on the American majority.

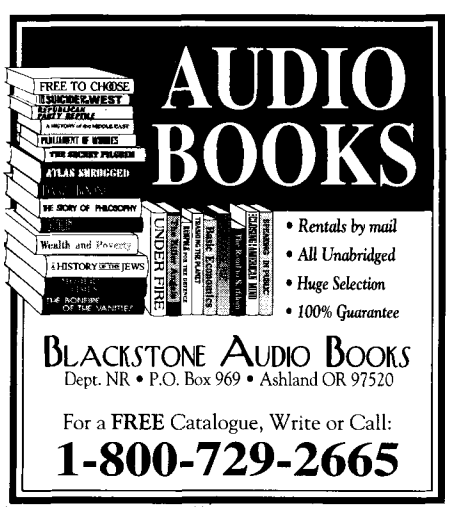
His interviews bear him out. Here are Poles who have struggled to master English reporting that, because of the recent influx, they no longer need the language at all. Here is a Korean immigrant saying—significantly and ominously—that it was only at Harvard that she began to acquire "more of a Korean consciousness" and that now "as I get older, I feel more and more race-conscious."

Most hilarious of all, if you take a philosophical view of such matters, here are the Mashadi, a community of Iranian Jews now ensconced in Brooklyn, so exclusive and unpleasant that they are loathed even by other immigrant Iranian Jews: "They have no regard for normal society, for the law of the land." (A Mashadi response, interestingly: other Iranian Jews are jealous because the Mashadi have "fairer skins.")

But all is not lost, Ungar reports hearteningly. Some other Iranian Jews are reaching out to the Mashadi. The argument of one: "Let's be together, we are in America, we have one common enemy—American culture."

Great.

Finally, Ungar's immigrants are not very happy. The very real emotional and psychological cost of immigration, even when successful, plays little part in American folklore, largely because the most unhappy went home. Now, of course, they stay. Their discontent stays with them. "The longer I am here," says a Polish immigrant welfare worker, "the



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less I like this country and what it does to people."

The reason for *Fresh Blood*'s serenity is that Ungar himself belongs to another astonishingly unassimilated community: that of the liberal media Bigfoot. (He is dean of American University's School of Communication and former host of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*.) Genteel bigotries flourish in this hermetically sealed world, such as always using sneering quotation marks when discussing Cubans' eagerness to "save" their children from Communism.

Ultimately what is missing from *Fresh Blood* is America. History for Ungar starts at Ellis Island. "It is difficult to identify many American values not traceable to immigrant influence," he says. So much for the Declaration of Independence. So much for the Constitution. Naturally, Mr. Ungar has no reference to the Founding Fathers, with their articulate distrust of immigration, or to *The Federalist*, with its emphasis on the importance of a preexisting common people and common culture.

In place of history, Ungar has myth: "To be an American means being part of an ever more heterogeneous people and participating in the constant redefinition of a complex, evolving cultural fabric." This extraordinary vision of America as a sort of transients' hotel rather than a nation would have astonished Theodore Roosevelt and even the advocates of the 1965 Immigration Act —for the disastrous consequences of which it is, of course, merely a retroactive rationalization.

Perhaps fittingly, Mr. Ungar concludes his book by quoting the hotel executive Michael Leven. Earlier, Ungar has celebrated Leven's success in building a franchise operation using Indian immigrants—"hotels, motels, and Patels." Typically, he does not seem to know that, as a federally chartered "minority," Indian innkeepers are heavy users of cheap affirmative-action finance from the Small Business Administration.

According to Leven's sophisticated analysis: "There's never been any real basis for opposing immigration but racism, in one form or another."

In fact, ordinary Americans overwhelmingly oppose immigration out of patriotism—the fear, justified on Ungar's own evidence, that their country is being taken away from them. It would be equally unfair, or fair, to say that there has never been any real basis for immigration enthusiasm but treason. □

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An Idea and Its Consequences

HARVEY MANSFIELD

IRVING Kristol's memoirs, a collection of the articles he wishes to remember, shine with his charm and his intellectual mastery. He starts with a new "autobiographical memoir" in which he mentions that when he was young and needed a job, Sidney Hook would come to the rescue. With that example, Kristol himself has come to the rescue of many conservative graduate students, some of them mine. His son, William, for whom he bears a greater responsibility, was also a student of mine. But I am going to show that gratitude in a reviewer can sometimes be an aid, not a hindrance, to doing justice to an author.

To begin with the issue of most interest to readers of *NR*, what is neoconservatism? Mr. Kristol subtitles the book "The Autobiography of an Idea," and he remarks that neoconservatism as a distinct phenomenon and a separate movement is now over, having been absorbed into a wider conservatism. He notes that his son and others of the younger generation no longer feel any need for the "neo." From this it might be inferred that neoconservatism represented nothing but stages of conversion to what *NR* readers might wish to call the real thing—stages necessary, one

Neoconservatism: The Autobiography of an Idea, by Irving Kristol (Free Press, 493 pp., $25)

Mr. Mansfield is a professor of government at Harvard and the author of Machiavelli's Virtue, *due out in April from the University of Chicago Press.*

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might suppose, to the dignity of a man in the process of changing his mind. Real conservatives, it could be said, ought to be able to understand that necessity; and moreover, thinking of the desirability of constructing a conservative majority, they should not get into the habit of scorning those who come to agree with them.

But this will not do. Kristol's book is full of foresight, and as an autobiography it is, to put it mildly, not a text of tortured self-justification. He cites specific differences between neoconservatives and traditional Republicans: Republicans were too pro-business, not close enough to ordinary Americans (like himself!), too budget-conscious, and too suspicious of energetic Presidents. As for libertarian conservatives, he says that they were so opposed to the welfare state that they failed to produce a conservative version of it and wasted their fire on an abstract enemy, statism. Neoconservatives, being disillusioned liberals, contributed a critique of liberalism as it actually was and from within.

Most important, the neoconservatives believed in ideas: "The truth is that ideas are *all*-important." Kristol contrasts his belief with the conservatism of Michael Oakeshott (among others), for whom the human resistance to ideas and the many parochial comforts of life not to be deduced from our universal nature are the main truth. One can make an idea out of the resistance we offer to ideas, and that might be the substance of Oakeshott's conservatism. Kristol considers that conservatism too European, not right for an America that must be a universal idea because it can attract and receive all kinds of immigrants—including Jews.

Hardly any neoconservative is not a Jew, but then again, hardly any Jew is a conservative. So neoconservative Jews are above all critics of other Jews: they cannot be explained by their Jewishness unless it is Jewishness rightly understood by a very few. Kristol says that America must be an idea because the only alternative is plain luck, or Divine Providence: "I really cannot believe that Americans are a historically unique and chosen people. I am myself a Jew and an American, and with all due respect to the Deity, I think the odds are prohibitive that He would have gone out of His way to choose me twice over."

The American idea is democracy, a form of government that permits a man, as in the joke above, to say that he is a Jew before affirming he is an American. Most Jews are liberals, Mr. Kristol remarks, because they think that the secular humanism of liberals will guarantee Jews against anti-Semitism and make America their home. But the price exacted by liberalism is to transform Judaism into secular humanism. For Kristol, the price is prohibitively high for Jews and for liberals as well, since, as he repeats with emphasis, man is essentially religious, or "theotropic."

The two men who had the greatest influence on his thinking, Kristol says, were Lionel Trilling in the 1940s and Leo Strauss in the 1950s, both subtle writers, though in different ways. Kristol is not a subtle writer, or he is not a writer who wants readers to think he is subtle. In his essays the main point is always made obvious, and as a thinker he makes us aware that wisdom is a neighbor to common sense. For Kristol is a thinker. Though he can pretend to be afraid of scholarly criticism, his essays on Machiavelli, Adam Smith, Freud, and Einstein are considerable enough to have pleased and instructed his two mentors.

Especially in a democracy, common sense has political power. If one wishes to make wisdom effective, and bring it into politics, one must simplify. Kristol is a master of *deliberate* simplification, a faculty he calls "thinking politically." It is not *over*simplification, because the purpose is not to put across something dubious but rather to tell the truth in such a way that it will be heard. "Rhetoric" is an old name for what he does, though it applies more to his way of telling than to his way of thinking.

Kristol's way of thinking requires that one see things as a whole, not overlooking the forest for the trees. To do this, one must free oneself from the specialization and from the objectivity of the scholar or the social scientist. Kristol, for example, shows us what "economic thinking" is as a whole by looking at economics carefully but not as a specialist. He reads Adam Smith, the original economist, who, unknown to economists today, is also the premier economist. Having seen economics as a whole, Mr. Kristol can see what it amounts to—which is the same as where it is tending. Where it tends is its political impact, to which no citizen (or scholar) can be indifferent.

But "not being indifferent" does not mean that one should be caught up in partisanship. Social-science objectivity doesn't care about the political result (so it claims), and yet it is as easily fooled as the blindest partisan. Kristol cares but isn't fooled. He follows the example of the Founding Fathers—and he is one of a very few to appreciate the key to their success, which is to see the weaknesses of the very thing they were founding, those of popular government.

Mr. Kristol is able to say in one sentence what John Rawls's theory amounts to: "that a social order is just and legitimate *only* to the degree that it is directed to the redress of inequality." This summary would be disputed, perhaps by Rawls himself, but it is both true and wise. It is also common sense, though far from commonly understood. Other examples of Kristol's successful simplification are in his views of the strengths and weaknesses of liberalism, of social science (and why social scientists find it difficult to think politically), of modernism (and the contradiction Trilling saw between the lessons of modernist literature and the politics of the liberals who read it), and of the novel (its prosaic, democratic heroism).

These simplifications do not leave anyone under the illusion that life is simple. Life, he explains, can be understood in part by science, but "scientific method" properly refers only to the method of verification and not to a nonexistent method of discovery. The truth we discover, it seems, can be either religion or philosophy; neither is able to conquer the other. It is just as well. Kristol resists the modern utopianism he described, which says that a perfect society is possible. He is content to stay within the ancient utopianism that allows us to dream but fears the "diabolical aspect to the power of technology." Ideas are all-important, but when in modern times they have been taken as all-powerful, they have brought confusion and woe. In this sense Irving Kristol has always been—by his account even from his Trotskyist days—a conservative without qualification, content with the limits to human power. □

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English, R I P

TRACY LEE SIMMONS

TOM Shachtman tells of a 1993 poll taken in Hollywood of a group of marketing executives and movie producers who were asked to assess the newest movie trailers. Rated highest was Sylvester Stallone's *Cliffhanger*. It was also the only trailer, at two minutes in length, totally devoid of dialogue.

As Mr. Shachtman argues here, the primacy of the word in American culture has been replaced by the reign of the visual image, which has diverted even the more judicious among us from attending to words and their meanings. All the usual suspects are laid out in this timely book: the vapidities of TV and film, the inanities of politicians, the depredations of political correctness, incompetent schooling, the lack of thoughtful after-dinner talk in our homes.

One need not agree with Mr. Shachtman in all particulars to see that we are a less articulate people than we once were. It is one thing simply to get your point across in bald form by the spoken or written word; most of us still can do that. It is another to do so with economy and flair, which bears upon skills of articulation, along with "an ability to use logic, an ability to listen properly, and a supple vocabulary." If there is substandard articulation, there can be no eloquence. "Perhaps we cannot all achieve eloquence," Mr. Shachtman writes, "yet we can, and must, be articulate in most situations, or else communication itself is likely to fail."

The Inarticulate Society: Eloquence and Culture in America, by Tom Shachtman (Free Press, 300 pp., $25)

Esteem-boosting educators have assured us for decades that we are becoming a better-spoken nation, able more than ever to tap the vast resources of an English language enriched by contributions from new ethnic and technological reservoirs. Never have we been bombarded with so many words. Yet never has the standard of usage among educated people been so low. How curious, writes Jacques Barzun, that in a country possessed by one mania for self-improvement after another, the "same persons [who] give up smoking to avoid cancer, diet to grow more shapely, work on their bad posture or memory, take courses to better their minds or increase their charm" never think "to overhaul their vocabulary and grammar, let alone improve the quality of the sounds they utter."

Providing a useful historical outline, Mr. Shachtman describes the models of eloquence of the American past—statesmen, traveling orators, and other men of letters—and the "articulate behavior" they encouraged, manifest in the debate and deliberation vital to a representative democracy, but also in the hankering of the wider masses to gain some level of mastery over words. Mr. Shachtman reminds us that articulate behavior is learned, not inborn. He sums up much of the major research into childhood learning to support his broader claims that our culture itself is endangered not simply by benign neglect, but by active mechanisms of bad educational theory and dumbed-down entertainment. Vocabularies have diminished; syntax is becoming more crude and dull, less complex and subtle. Attention to the shortcomings of our schools concentrates on the need for better math and science instruction, but this book shows us that reclamation efforts there will not avail until we have tackled our more fundamental verbal deficiencies.

The news media receive special criticism, especially broadcast news. In a lively exercise, Mr. Shachtman examines a chronological cross-section of CBS Evening News programs from 1963 to 1993. Thirty years ago, few graphics aided the words of the anchorman or reporter; "the atmosphere, language, and editorial attitudes [were] all print-based." Mr. Shachtman believes there was also a tendency to use more precise, less workaday words, and he notes an emphasis on the substance of stories and comparatively little talk of personalities. By 1981 Chromakey images were filling the background and the language was becoming increasingly unmemorable. By 1993 Dan Rather and Connie

Mr. Simmons is an associate editor of NR.

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Chung talked in headlines, using "alarmist" tones, their language taking on a cute folksiness.

When television takes its blows, we usually hear about excessive violent and sexual content. It would also be instructive to ponder what these excesses partially replace: intelligent, vigorous dialogue. Gone are the days of *Playhouse 90* and NBC's *Kraft Television Theatre*, where prime-time, mainstream entertainment consisted of literate teleplays, often of high quality. We are told about a novelist who recently made a foray into TV writing and was admonished: "This is television—aim lower."

Mr. Shachtman guesses that, in our rush from a word-guided world, we are becoming a culture fueled by emotion rather than thought. Setting aside Marshall McLuhan's speculations about a "global village" where "tribal emotions" have replaced literacy, he cites the work of Father Walter Ong, SJ, who posited a postliterate world with "secondary orality," a culture that derives its literacy "not from the written word but from the language as communicated through such devices as the telephone, television, and popular music." A culture, in other words, relinquishing its ties to its traditions, preserved in written words, in favor of the more transient, polychromatic experiences of the moment. Mr. Shachtman argues that "if the inarticulate society comes into being, it will be as a consequence of spreading secondary orality." (Revealing yet another source of turgid usage, the earlier chapters of this otherwise readable book are marred by sociobabble like this.)

Mr. Shachtman proffers solutions, starting with "a coordinated national program" to "celebrate the word and all that devolves from the word, including literacy, political debate, speech as an art form, conversation as entertainment and as education." A few of his suggestions I find neither practical nor desirable. He advocates new regulations requiring more news and public-affairs broadcasts that would use "certain elevated levels of language," which seems like a solution in search of another problem; who would decide what qualifies as "elevated"? But other ideas, like "the abolition of teachers' colleges and training degrees," hit the mark.

My own modest theory holds that the deliquescence of poetry as the possession of a wide public has considerably weakened not only our vocabularies but also our sense of play in language. Poetry also performed the not inconsiderable service of educating and bestowing a cultural cohesion not easily replicated in a classroom.

Robert MacNeil once told me of a young man working for *The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* who had written that the adoption of some policy would sound a "death knoll." Amused, Mr. MacNeil observed, "This told me that here was a generation that had not been required to learn, as we all had, 'The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.' " That young man had missed more than an idle literary allusion. He had also missed a crystalline artifact of his language's vibrancy that might have returned unbidden in a quiet moment years hence, its origin forgotten. One more indelible link to both the past and his language has been consigned to footnotes. □

FILM

People, Politics, and Perversity

JOHN SIMON

BEFORE Bosnia, the most wretched Balkan country was Albania. For the Communist dictator Enver Hoxha, even Soviet Russia was too liberal; only Mao would do. But the miseries of this tiny, three-million-soul country go further back. In 1939, Mussolini's troops crossed the seventy miles of Adriatic Sea to rule Albania until 1943, when the Nazis took over. Under today's quasi-democracy, the country is still horribly poor. It reminded the filmmaker Gianni Amelio (*Open Doors*, *Stolen Children*) of that immediately postwar Italy that forced his grandfather to emigrate to Lamerica, as illiterate Italians refer to the United States, where he promptly failed.

Lamerica, Amelio's new film, is dedicated to all poor nations whose paupers dream of distant salvation in a mythical America, but either can't afford to leave or, like most Albanians who swarmed to Italy after the dictator's fall, are sent back on the very ships they came on. Equally tragic were the Italian soldiers who, upon the Duce's fall, changed their names, became Albanianized, and still ended up in inhuman Albanian prisons, where many of them died.

The film takes place in 1991, when two Italian con men, Fiore and young Gino, arrive in Albania to set up a bogus shoe factory, collect subsidies from Italy, and then scamper off. They need an Albanian figurehead to ostensibly run the company, and look for some abject fellow they can boss around. They find Spiro, a poor wretch in his seventies who languished in jail for decades and is too scared even to speak, and make him president. They clean him up, provide him with a decent suit that somehow refuses to hang right on him, and temporarily park him in an orphanage run by nuns. But Spiro escapes, and Gino in his jeep sets out to retrieve him.

He finally catches him, and they head back for Tirana, the capital. Along the way, every removable part of the jeep is stolen. Next, Gino's baggage and clothes; he even lands briefly in prison. Spiro, however, refuses to talk, even though it emerges that he is, like Gino, a Sicilian—Michele, a soldier who left a wife and child back home. A half-century hiatus has befuddled his mind, just as greed and impotent rage at Spiro and the depredations of the starving Albanians have clouded Gino's. Meanwhile Fiore, unmasked by the authorities, has fled back to Italy, and the scam is dead. Gino is left hanging with a quirky and useless old man on his hands.

But Spiro-Michele now becomes friendly and communicative, and harder for Gino to dump. He tries to do it kindly, but it's no go; the two are stuck together until Spiro escapes again. Separately, though, both he and Gino are headed for the coast and for Italy. En route, as Gino becomes poorer and poorer, he mingles with fleeing Albanian youths on an overcrowded truck, and his world view begins to change. The very landscape, stark and crisscrossed by escapees and police, is a stern teacher. Yet the insipidities broadcast by Italian television seduce the Albanians into believing paradise awaits them

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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across the water. Heartrendingly, Gino watches a little girl doing a frenzied dance she copied from Italian TV as her mother approaches him with the chilling suggestion that he take her child to Italy with him. Like so much in *Lamerica*, this actually happened; as it was being shot, the film kept incorporating real-life incidents into its screenplay.

Many things contribute to *Lamerica*'s potency. A terrible irony hovers over the goings-on. Frustration for every character—for the whole country—is everywhere, even hunger and death. Yet the horrors tend to wear a comic face. Whatever goes wrenchingly wrong is somehow also comic in its absurdity, its perverse contrariness, bureaucratic or existential. But misfortune's grinning mask is more appalling than outright horror; as a genuine skull would be, posturing as a Halloween pumpkin.

In its final sequences, *Lamerica* becomes incandescently moving. Even then, this rigorously unsentimental film does not milk your tear ducts, however much it grips your heart and tightens your throat. From a screenplay partly by himself, Amelio has directed with his masterly trademark dryness. Yet it is not the soul that is dry, but the humor and the anger as suffering humanity is depicted in its shattered and audience-shattering essentials.

Michele Placido expertly balances the charm and menace of the charlatan Fiore; Enrico Lo Verso makes the transformation of the brash scoundrel Gino into a human being subtly gradual to the point of near-imperceptibility. Spiro-Michele is played by Carmelo di Mazzarelli, found by Amelio in the streets of a small Sicilian town where he had previously filmed. He lends the movie his bare-bones, no-frills presence, something few trained actors could have matched. Without imitating them, *Lamerica* transports us into the world of such masterworks as *Bicycle Thief* and *Umberto D*. It covers the enormous distance between despair and (probably unfounded) hope in less than two hours, but with enough insight to last you a lifetime.

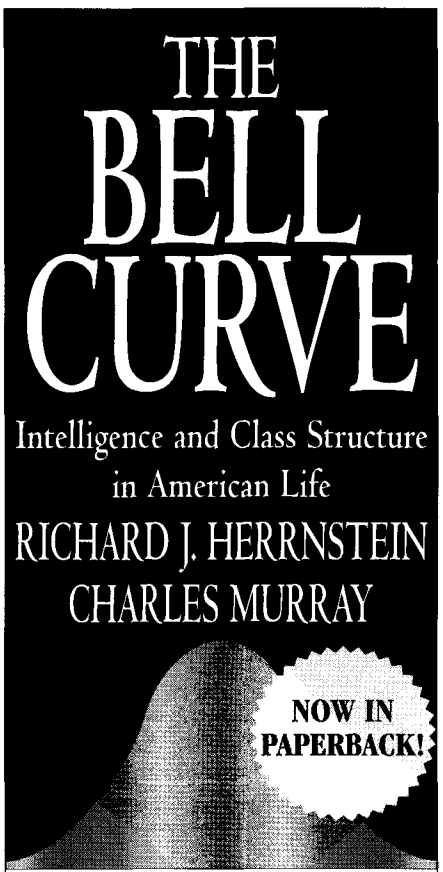
■ Compared to this, a film such as Oliver Stone's ***Nixon*** is very small, and not especially new, potatoes. Stone and his sundry writers and consultants cannot make up their minds about what to think of Nixon: conspirator or political wizard, flawed superman or inflated opportunist, marked by a hapless childhood or unlucky loser in Washington's intrigue derby? Object for pity, terror, or grudging admiration? This is not the same thing as creative ambiguity, where the filmmaker sees all sides of a man and presents him in the paradoxical but total round. Rather, it is a matter of vacillation, inconsistency, trying to have it too many ways—not multivalent wisdom but shapelessly fuzzy thinking.

No one denies talent to Stone—individual scenes or, more often, parts of scenes in this three-hour-plus film play effectively—but you do not feel a ripe and judicious mind in control. Excess is like mother's milk to Stone. Better yet: like liquor to a drunkard; he could not lay off it even if he fully recognized its harmfulness, which is hardly the case.

There are further problems. A figure from the recent past, like Nixon, whom we all remember all too clearly, should be played by an actor resembling him. Anthony Hopkins, gifted as he is, does not remotely look like Nixon and, as a Brit, has far too palpably tough a time trying to sound like him; I found his "yeah"s—or were they "ya"s?—especially hard to take. E. G. Marshall, unconvincing as Mitchell, would have made a far better Nixon, looking more like him and able to suggest his particular brand of slippery unprepossessingness. Hopkins makes him beefy and bulldoggish, rather than oily and tricky—almost Kissingerish in fact. But Marshall may have been too old, and not (horrible concept!) a star.

James Woods, a fine actor, lacks Haldeman's deceptively handsome, solidly all-American façade, and J. T. Walsh manages no characterization as Ehrlichman. David Hyde Pierce is a touch too morose for John Dean; Brad Pitt would have had the right pretty-boy quality, but the part must have been too small for him. Thus the excellent Ed Harris is wasted on Gordon Liddy. And though Paul Sorvino is the correctly bloated size, his Kissinger, visually and accentually as well as in general manner, is far less convincing than Ron Silver's was recently on television. David Paymer is properly sweaty-under-the-collar as Ron Ziegler, but best of all is the Pat Nixon of Joan Allen, a fine and restrained actress who manages fully to look the part to boot.

As usual, Stone is obsessed with Kennedy, who figures too prominently; and with conspiracies, both of the millionaire-Texan anti-JFK and, more plausibly, U.S. anti-Castro varieties, in the



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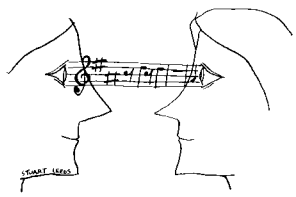
latter of which Nixon is made out to be strongly but indistinctly implicated. Vagueness proliferates; even Watergate is handled anticlimactically. I suppose there are legal reasons for much of this, but unless you can say what you want, why bother? The idea seems to be to make Nixon into some sort of tragic hero, a man of strength, determination, and genuine achievements, but undercut by his strict puritanical upbringing, his lack of charm especially vis-à-vis Kennedy, and his not having the right school tie and social background.



These minuses are meant to add up to the *hamartia*, the tragic flaw in Nixon's potentially heroic stature. To me, despite his foreign-policy accomplishments, Nixon always seemed to be a nontragic nonentity, and Kissinger, though clever, something rather worse. Maybe someday the full fishy story can be told, but even then I doubt if Oliver Stone would be the man for the job.

■ I had originally intended to review ***Twelve Monkeys***, a well-received film of the kind formerly known as science fiction, but latterly as "futuristic," no doubt in order to make Marinetti and the Futurist painters revolve in their graves. An admitted co-optation of Chris Marker's *La Jetée*, which was both more original and shorter, this long and tedious movie concerns a man returned from the future to prevent a conspiracy and cataclysm that would wipe out most of mankind. As I watched it with growing revulsion (Terry Gilliam, the director, is as exasperating as he is talented), I could not decide which I loathed more: the parts I understood or those beyond comprehension. Well, I'll be a monkey's uncle, but not the uncle of 12. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Republican War against Women: An Insider's Report from behind the Lines, by Tanya Melich (Bantam, 356 pp., $23.95)

AS A preschooler in Utah, Tanya Melich handed out Willkie for President pamphlets, but she has now abandoned her "birthright Republicanism" owing to the influence of misogynist newcomers who have captured her GOP in their quest for a "theocracy." Outside forces opposed to women's equality (the Catholic Church in particular) have forced her party to create "a new partnership of racism and sexism in pursuit of Republican victory." This tiresome screed is written with the anger of a feminist scorned. And scorned this ex-Rockefeller campaign aide repeatedly was, at convention after convention, both by the uncouth newcomers (Who *are* these people and why *can't* they wipe their feet?) and by her male pro-choice allies, like Chuck Percy, Pete Wilson, and Bill Weld, who invariably left her and her feminist friends "hung out to dry." That nobody likes a sore loser is just one of the lessons Tanya Melich fails to grasp as she whines through this paranoid account of the cultural forces at play in the GOP. —KATE O'BEIRNE

The Making of a Conservative Environmentalist, by Gordon K. Durnil (Indiana, 216 pp., $19.95)

SHAME on Dan Quayle and Mary Matalin for endorsing this book! Mr. Durnil claims to be a conservative, but he is a double agent for Greenpeace. The author argues that the use and release of chemical substances like chlorine into the environment is immoral, unless we can prove the universal negative that no risk to future generations exists. The environment is full of naturally occurring elements that cause cancer (in rats). All our fruits and vegetables, our best sources of cancer prevention, contain them. Should we do away with fruits and vegetables because they contain "risk"? Then why chlorine byproducts like dioxin, which are exactly the same as those in nature already, caused by things like forest fires and animal metabolism? Or like PVC, which is completely innocuous? The tangible disease-fighting benefits of chlorine and its byproducts (it is the only effective preventative of waterborne diseases like cholera, and is used to produce 85 per cent of our vitamins and pharmaceuticals and 96 per cent of our pesticides) far outweigh a hypothetical risk hiding just beyond our scientific reach, but read as an article of faith from the entrails of a rat. Mr. Durnil is blithely unaware of these considerations, too busy talking in generalities, and quoting his old speeches.
—MATTHEW CAROLAN

Memoir from Antproof Case, by Mark Helprin (Harcourt, Brace, 514 pp., $24)

ARGUABLY our finest living fiction-writer, Mark Helprin dazzles and soothes with a style that is both beautiful and apt, a plot that seems to grow of itself, and a first-person narrator even more expansive than Ishmael. "Have you ever wondered what kind of life someone would lead if, after wanting more than anything to die, he were to live for seventy or more years? Now you know." But not before our pseudonymous narrator ("Call me Oscar Progresso"), who is at work writing a memoir from Brazil and loathes coffee (persuasively), has taken us through aerial combat, a bank heist, an enduring love affair, an amatory betrayal that makes you want to wring his paramour's neck for her sheer meanness. And this is just background, provided by our acutely appreciative, grievously damaged hero. When you discover the origin of that damage, and why he writes and for whom, you *will* agree—there is inevitability here, and never more than when we are surprised—that the memoir requires scrupulous preservation. —JAMES COMO

Irving Babbitt, Literature, and the Democratic Culture, by Milton Hindus (Transaction, 135 pp., $32.95)

MILTON Hindus persuasively portrays Irving Babbitt's achievement as one of correctly divining the "main tendency" of his age as "anarchic freedom and license of the emotions," and opposing it by insisting on self-conquest and the "inner check." After examining Babbitt's arguments, T. S. Eliot's assessment of him, Babbitt's concern for education, and much more, Hindus demonstrates the value of Babbitt's judiciously critical approach by evaluating recent developments in American democracy, literature, and education "as [Babbitt] might have seen them." Lucid and insightful Hindus's book is not only a fine addition to Babbitt scholarship, but also an illuminating guide for general readers of Babbitt's works. —JOHN ATTARIAN

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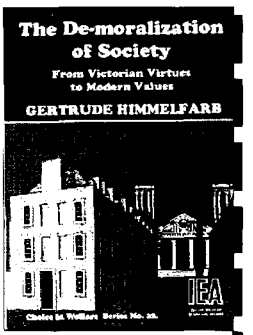

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127X	128U		129N	130Q	131B	132A	133F	134X	135E		136C	137X	138P		139O	140V	141D	142R		143T	144E	145A	146K	147S
148J	149X	150M		151A	152J	153K	154M	155O	156X	157H		158T	159M	160R		161X	162I	163L	164H	165P	166B	167C		168H
169L		170U	171R	172D	173M	174T	175W	176X	177A	178C	179Q		180L	181I	182B	183C	184G	185V	186T		187M	188Y		189Q
190F	191X	192I	193C	194U	195B	196T		197X	198P		199Y	200C	201D	202U		203W	204P	205O		206L	207X	208A	209W	210E

A. A sea captain's order of last resort — 145 40 151 70 99 208 16 177 124 84 132

B. Exult — 20 195 182 131 11 166 121

C. "Put 'im in a _____ till 'e's sober." — 178 106 200 49 136 183 193 167

D. Vast — 125 18 51 172 26 82 64 201 141

E. *Brutish, mad* — 47 210 135 144 13 87 66 3 19

F. Good breeding — 7 190 86 117 88 133 22 59 41

G. British flagship at Trafalgar — 91 36 116 104 25 123 10 69 4 184

H. Lord of the seas, before the aircraft carrier — 100 9 72 75 57 115 157 95 168 164

I. *Mysterious as the great deep* — 29 181 80 122 53 118 92 63 1 110 192 162

J. Esteem, regard — 126 148 2 152 119 112 90

K. Dungeon or hold — 146 101 24 153

L. Bacon was England's first *great one* — 180 52 163 81 39 105 206 169

M. Querulous, cantankerous — 37 30 154 173 187 150 159

N. Not shut — 5 129 111 31

O. Tarried (in anticipation) — 139 155 68 109 42 205

P. Personage, being — 165 204 67 44 138 198

Q. Objectify, make concrete — 189 130 71 27 179

R. "I fear thee, _____! I fear thy skinny hand!" (Coleridge, 2 words) — 15 142 32 35 160 98 120 114 58 107 50 8 79 171

S. Hero of Copenhagen and Trafalgar — 6 17 38 45 85 147

T. Antilles (3 words) — 196 93 77 14 83 143 33 23 158 174 48 186 108 60 76

U. Subdue or conciliate — 170 97 194 54 128 202

V. Moral patrimony of a nation or class — 185 46 140 113 34

W. Jason, Castor, or Pollux, for instance — 203 209 94 175 89 103 56 65

X. Morison's Admiral of the Ocean Sea (2 words) — 207 78 161 62 73 96 127 191 102 134 156 21 12 28 176 55 197 137 149

Y. Rival of Raleigh and Salisbury — 199 61 188 74 43

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. EMERSON: *The American Scholar*: "Gowns and pecuniary foundations, though of towns of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance while they grow richer every year."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Forbes's Rich Problem

NEW YORK, JANUARY 16

Steve Forbes's campaign is revealing, challenging, and amusing. The sheer improbability, last November, that he would get anywhere tended to interdict any other consideration of his candidacy, yet here he is, running second in various states. In the debate in Iowa on Saturday the other candidates all consolidated as a Get Forbes posse. He escaped, but bruises landed, inflicted by fellow Republicans, of course, and, in many cases, fellow conservatives.

He has split the conservative vote, and, accordingly, Senator Gramm went after him lustily. This was in part a professional obligation (there is no way Phil Gramm can stop Dole and share affections with Steve Forbes) and in part personal (Senator Gramm is smarting from Forbes's ads).

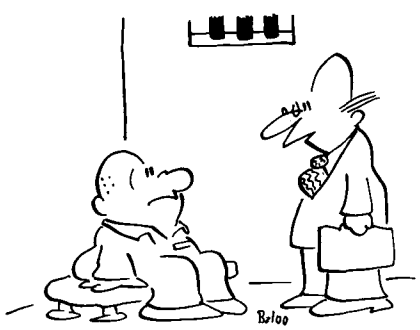
Forbes has of course been baiting Gramm in a television and radio campaign that has suffused Iowa with Forbes's agenda. His complaint is that Gramm's insistence on a reduction in government expenses pays insufficient heed to the possibilities that open up under a return to supply-side policies. Gramm counters that you can't have effective tax relief without asphyxiative government policies that would hugely reduce government expenditures. Without exactly saying so, Forbes resists this, preferring to cite the prodigality of growth when the yokes are removed from the taxpayers' necks. It is a nice quarrel, and conservatives tend to hope that both sides will win.

Now the special vulnerabilities of Forbes on the larger political scene are difficult for such as Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan and indeed Lamar Alexander to cope with. His company has a private airplane blissfully named *Capitalist Tool*. And his company has a gorgeous big yacht, which will take you around the world, if you press the right button. Now the Internal Revenue Service, over the years, has examined the expense accounts of these two amenities with ferocious attention, but the records absolutely establish a business purpose in maintaining them. The primary weight of their expense rests on the shoulders of the stockholders, who are the Forbes family.

There is that, plus also the general political disability of disposing of great wealth. The public doesn't find this disqualifying—FDR was relatively rich—and anyway, right-wing inclinations do not go in lockstep with wealth. (Bill Gates voted for Clinton.) In 1958 there were three contenders for statewide office in New York. Averell Harriman was standard-bearer of the left wing of the Democratic Party; challenger Nelson Rockefeller was standard-bearer of the left wing of the Republican Party; Corliss Lamont was, pure and simple, a Communist fellow-traveler running on a socialist ticket. All three gentlemen were heirs to great fortunes.

So that the Republican public, in a Republican primary, is not going to be frightened off by the documentation of Steve Forbes's wealth. It is a slightly different matter that he has put that wealth entirely at the disposal of his campaign. That understandably irritates those poor souls who have to spend half of every day collecting nickels and dimes from house to house; but there is no indication that the public is put off on the matter, although there may be a considerable difference between the cited popularity of Steve Forbes and the number of people who will actually turn up to vote for him.

His primary problem has to do with the widespread belief that a flat tax would hurt the middle class, specifically, those who earn between $70,000 and $200,000. Forbes acknowledges that for the first year, perhaps two years, taxing families with incomes over $36,000 at 17 per cent, disallowing deductions, and immunizing dividend and estate income would mean a deficit, but one which, he vows, would soon disappear under the promptings of an invigorated marketplace. But of course the first thing done by the other candidates and their accomplices was to try to figure out how much less this would hypothetically cost Steve Forbes personally, compared with what they figure out he paid last year.



"There were 37 eyewitnesses, so we'd better go with the 'performance art' defense."

The estimated saving is substantial. Forbes was justifiably inflamed at the preposterous suggestion that someone is going to run for President of the United States in order to spur on a tax reform that will save the new President money on his income tax. The gentle Steve Forbes waxed wroth on the point and retorted that he will have spent twenty times the hypothetical saving on his presidential campaign. A rather convincing point: It doesn't really make sense to spend $20 million in a campaign in order prospectively to diminish one's tax payments by about $200,000. Some will remember the character in the Hollywood movie whom the all-powerful, manipulative gang offered either of two alternative posts: Commissioner of Baseball, or President of the United States. William Powell paused, twitched his moustache, then said, "Which pays more?"

Mr. Forbes isn't playing a political part, isn't going to be President, but he has done an endearing thing. □

This 'Liar' Business

NEW YORK, JANUARY 12

I want in on the Hillary business, for reasons natural (that's where the action is) and unnatural (I am among those who think it important what language you use). The water she lives in had been getting hotter and hotter, and then a few days ago columnist William Safire of the *New York Times* ran his diagnostic fingers over the accumulation and concluded that Hillary Clinton is "a congenital liar."

One winces a little on seeing the charge against her expressed in exactly that language. To begin with, we don't know—do we?—whether when she emerged from the womb shouting Beeeh! she knew very well that the situation called for her to shout Baaah! but as a congenital liar she could not avoid dissimulation. A liar being someone who somewhere along the line took to telling untruths, a congenital liar is someone who tells untruths because the truth simply won't come out of his lips. In the feud a few years ago between Lillian Hellman and Mary McCarthy, kindled by Miss McCarthy's saying nobody could believe anything Miss Hellman said, Lillian complained, and Mary reiterated that everything Lillian writes is a lie, including "and" and "the."

At that level, of course, charges and countercharges become polemical flourishes intended to titillate onlookers. They are no longer clinical distinctions between the truth and the non-truth. So by adding the

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qualifier "congenital," Mr. Safire gave away too much ground, and soon the whole country was seeing a smiling President telling a crowded press conference that, as President of the United States, he suffered under certain "constraints" which prevented him from dealing with Mr. Safire as he'd have done in private life. For those whose imagination wasn't keen enough to know just what that was, the White House press secretary Mike McCurry had given a hint. Citizen Bill Clinton would have poked Citizen Bill Safire in the nose.

Now what seeps through all that stuff is, actually, some idea of what remains of the House of Chivalry. Not much. When that house was intact, you would never see a man seated in a bus while a woman was left standing. Any man who threatened publicly to poke another man in the nose wouldn't be noticed nowadays, on the grounds that that threat was probably made in a crowded bar, where nobody heard or cared, or else it was made in a press conference announcing what the intention was of Mike Tyson to do to the challenger sometime in the future in Las Vegas. It is really surprising that the women's lobby didn't resent the language used by Mr. Clinton against Mr. Safire on the grounds that manifestly, it was sexist-talk. He wouldn't have said it if Mr. Safire's quarry had been a male.

And so we arrive at the piquancy in this situation. Mrs. Clinton said a half-dozen things that weren't correct, most conspicuously that she hadn't personally insisted on firing the seven-man White House Travel staff. In fact, according to her ex-employee and Clinton pal Mr. Watkins, she did want them fired.

But what fascinates is that this episode and a few others having to do with the nature of her relationship with the Madison Guaranty outfit invite the formal scrutiny of investigating panels and, theoretically, the courts themselves, because perjury is contingently involved.

But the man who, if he weren't President, would poke Bill Safire in the nose, "lies," if that is the word for it, quite consistently. Anyone who has watched the tube over the past couple of months will have lost count of the frequency of Mr. Clinton's telling the people that the objective of the Republican Party's budget drive is to hurt the old, the homeless, the sick, the lame, the children, and the environment. If something is not true, and it is nonetheless affirmed, that gives us a lie, and the generator of that lie, is—a liar? Forget the "congenital" business—about which most of us don't know very much, since our memory reaches back only to when Mr. Clinton in the Sixties took marijuana but didn't inhale. How is it that politicians are shielded as they are? To get to the White House one promises one thing, does another. Or else reaffirms on Monday what one repudiates on Tuesday? Some would go so far as to guess that if he were simply "Mr." Clinton even then he wouldn't actually go to Mr. Safire's office and poke him in the nose. Clinton reserves such activity for larger bodies, like the Republican Party, or Congress, or the voters who vote for the wrong people. The voters who were lied to. □

Is There a God Behind Religion?

NEW YORK, JANUARY 19

Most public discussion of religion has to do with earnest constitutional and political quarrels. Does the First Amendment prohibit the recitation of a public prayer in the public schools? The display of a crèche at Christmas? The display of the Ten Commandments? Then there are the derivative issues: Is the Christian Coalition dominating GOP politics? Do Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed have a stranglehold on the Republican Platform on the question of abortion? Homosexual marriages? Euthanasia?

Odd, but almost never does the discussion turn on religion itself. i.e., what is the excitement all about? If students heard a prayer in the public schools, or if religious sentiment crystallized against abortion, what is it all about? The public schools, for two generations, have proceeded without any notice taken of religion, as the Supreme Court has decreed. Interesting question, What about non-public schools? Obviously one begins by excluding schools that are explicitly religious in orientation. One would expect that in the Catholic parochial schools, the Orthodox Jewish schools, the Episcopal schools, religion is an explicit factor. But what about others? There are 240 private boarding schools in America. What do they do? The Supreme Court isn't going to tell them what to do. They can worship the god Pan, if that's what the trustees decree.

One doesn't know where to turn for an answer to that question: How does religion fare in the private non-denominational schools? But the mere inquiry provokes the curious mind to ask what is, one supposes, the primary question: Why?

A recent visitor remarks that attendance at her Episcopal Church has, in the past half-dozen years, increased by 100 per cent. Why? Is there, as we are here and there told, a religious "revival" in the offing?

Again: Why?

The anthropologists are there to tell us that it is in human nature to aspire for a spiritual life, even as it is in human nature to wish to exercise sexual appetites, and of course it is biologically necessary to appease hunger. The idea of the sociological set is, in effect, to say, There there, Mrs. Jones, we quite understand why you believe in God, etc., but kindly do so in a fashion that doesn't get in the way of public affairs, you know, like bicycle paths, or the diminishing supply of buffaloes.

What surprises is the relative reticence of the religious community. In the United States, overwhelmingly, the Christian community. A politician running for office is prepared to say that he believes in school prayer because he insists that the Constitution does not prohibit school prayer. But ambient folkways prevent him from saying: I think Jesus Christ was divine and therefore I find the lessons He taught us illuminating and vital in affecting our lives.

Wow!

Does that make him an anti-Semite?

No no, Madam. He is an anti-Semite only in the sense that the patron of the Yankees is anti the Red Sox. Never mind the difference in the order of gravity, the point is that a Christian exercises his faith without believing that others' faiths are wrong, misled; even as, mutatis mutandis, the Yankee patron, always free to apostatize from his allegiance, nevertheless proceeds to demonstrate his loyalty. The Christian owes absolutely nothing more to other religions than a respectful toleration of them. The wonderful old saw about the inter-religious conference in Tokyo fifty years ago is amusingly relevant. After the ecumenical blessing at the banquet, one participant turns to the pilgrim on his right. "My miserable superstition is Buddhism. What is your religion?"

It would be grand to hear public figures in the course of discussing this or that public or private question say, "Well on this matter, I am instructed, or try to be, by the New Testament, which, you know, tells us that greed is, well, you know, wrong. So is adultery. . . . I don't say I live up to the Christian calling, all I say is that I wish I did because I recognize it as truth."

There is no reason at all for the listener whose god speaks different tongues to object to the superordination of Christ over, say, Buddha. But the question before the house is: Why don't people say, more often, Yes, I love my country and my flag, and my God, but let me tell you Who my God is, and why what He has told me has for years and years given me comfort and fortitude and stimulated my love for—yes, you, Madam. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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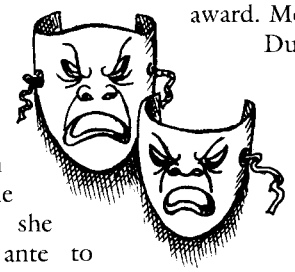
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

PAY no attention to what *Burke's Peerage* says about Princess Diana's lineage. Any woman who goes on television and discusses her affairs, betrayals, suicide attempts, and vomiting habits, and then says "I'm a very strong person," is an American.

The Enid Waldholtzing of the Princess of Wales and the debate over the future of royalty remind me of the running battle between my English father and my American mother that dominated my childhood and ultimately shaped most of the political opinions I hold today.

My parents dwelt on opposite sides of a yawning philosophical gulf. He would speak of his "betters" and she would snap "You're just as good as they are!" When he tried to explain the difference between the American usage of *better* and the English usage of *betters,* she automatically upped the ante to "You're better than they are!" without having heard a word he said.



Monarchy was a special sore point. He tried to explain why Edward VIII had to abdicate, going over each constitutional point in his precise way, but he got nowhere.

"Malarkey. He was the King, he could do anything he wanted, and if anybody didn't like it he could throw them in jail and cut off their head," said the great republican.

His favorite illustration of noblesse oblige was the story of Queen Alexandra, who sent a car for King Edward VII's mistress as he lay dying so the lovers could say goodbye. My Yankee-doodle-dandy mother was unimpressed.

"She should have sent a car to run over her."

They had their most memorable clash over the tiny pieces of lead sewn into the Queen's hems to keep her dress from flying up: Oh, for God's sake! Do they think she was born without knees? Of course she has knees, but we don't want to see them. Why not? Because she's the Queen. Oh, for God's sake!

I always sided with my father. The psychobabblers no doubt will say that I'm "threatened" by Princess Diana, that her lèse majesté has unearthed my "unresolved conflicts" and "buried anxieties." Maybe so, but a recent book claims that eccentrics have no unresolved conflicts or buried anxieties, and I have reason to believe the book. In any case, I am an unabashed anglophile; if Paris is worth a Mass, London is worth an Electra complex.

Currently, I side with Prince Charles and think he deserves a feminist award. Most men ditch their dear old Dutch for a trophy wife but he ditched the trophy wife for his dear old Dutch. No one gives him credit for preferring time-ravaged Lady Camilla Parker-Bowles to firm-fleshed Di, or realizes her ladyship's value to the state. Plebeianized England needs Queen Camilla: any woman can ride a horse but it takes a true aristocrat to look like one.

Charles is regarded as an odd duck because his hobbies of architecture and the cello fall outside the Pale du jour. Diana, on the other hand, is considered normal because her hobbies—throwing up, hurling herself into glass cabinets, hating her husband—conform to acceptable feminist standards of assertiveness and self-expression.

Actually she's one diamond short of a full tiara. Not like those royals of yore called the Mad and the Simple; full-bore insanity with its connotations of blue blood would offend our anti-elitist age. Democracy demands neurosis and Diana delivers. So far she has indulged in common-garden masochism, but falling through glass eventually loses its charm. Needing bigger and better crashes, she is courting self-destruction by assaulting what she dimly realizes is her only identity: the monarchy itself.

Diana the Masochist is history's most problematic regicide. Even if it were still possible to torture her in the Tower, it would be pointless because she already tortures herself on her Nordic Track. Safe from the scaffold, she insists upon losing her head on sound stages, mounting her *coup d'état* by overthrowing herself on television. Edward II's adulterous consort was driven into exile by an outraged nation screaming "She-Wolf of France!" but when Diana admits the same sin the telly-paradise bleats, "She's only 'uman." It's a revolution for the Nineties: the clenched fist holds a sodden Kleenex. Diana will never tell viewers to eat cake because it's fattening, but it's only a matter of time before she demonstrates her technique for having her cake and eating it too, and who better to bring it up than Barbara Walters?

Diana is a monster of plebeianism who needs to take a leaf from the story of a woman who started out very much like herself.

Henriette-Lucie Dillon, daughter of an Irishman and a French noblewoman, was a lady-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette. Famed for her magnificent blond hair, she married the dashing Marquis de La Tour du Pin and threw herself into the pleasures of Versailles.

WHEN the Revolution began, the young couple fled at once to the United States. It was on this voyage that the giddy Henriette changed suddenly and completely. Finding her glorious hair so tangled and matted that she could not get a comb through it, she cut it off and tossed it into the sea. "I dropped my hair overboard," she wrote many years later, "and with it all the frivolous ideas which my pretty blond curls had given rise to."

The couple bought a farm near Albany and the marquise went into the dairy business, making butter stamped with her family crest. She took great pride in producing only the best, showing herself to be, as Peter Gay noted, "the great lady she had always been."

When the Revolution ended she and her husband returned to France. On the voyage back, this sociological anomaly volunteered to be the crew's tailor, mending their clothing and generally making herself useful—and hence beloved. Where her new traits came from is one of the mysteries of personality, but what she did with them is called "making the best of things." She was not only a real aristocrat but a natural one as well. □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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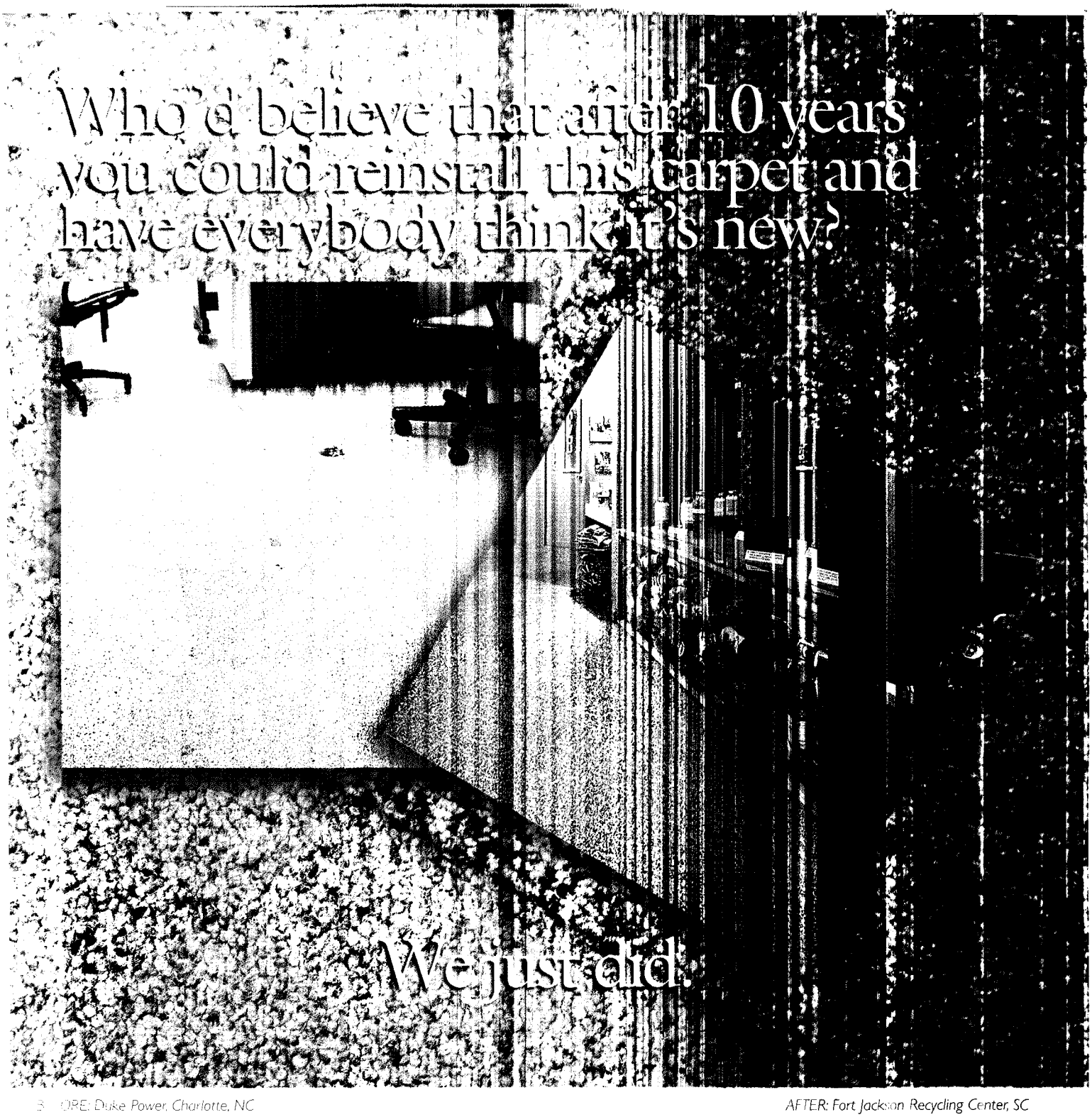

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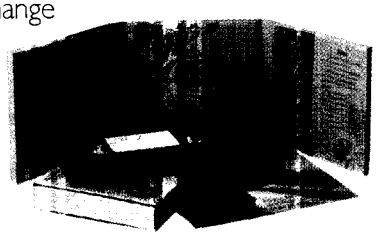

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